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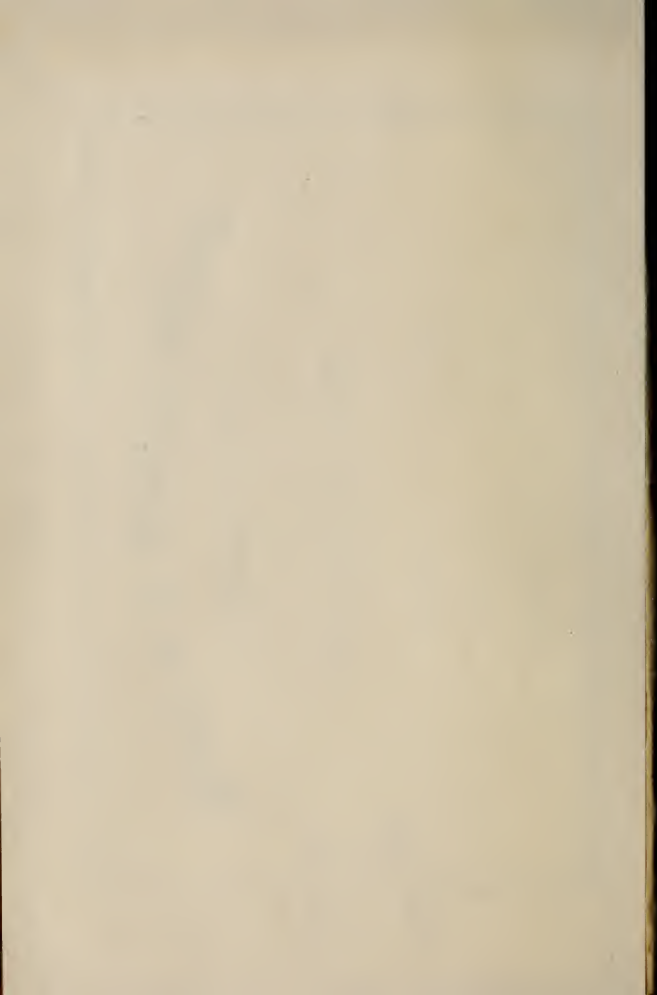
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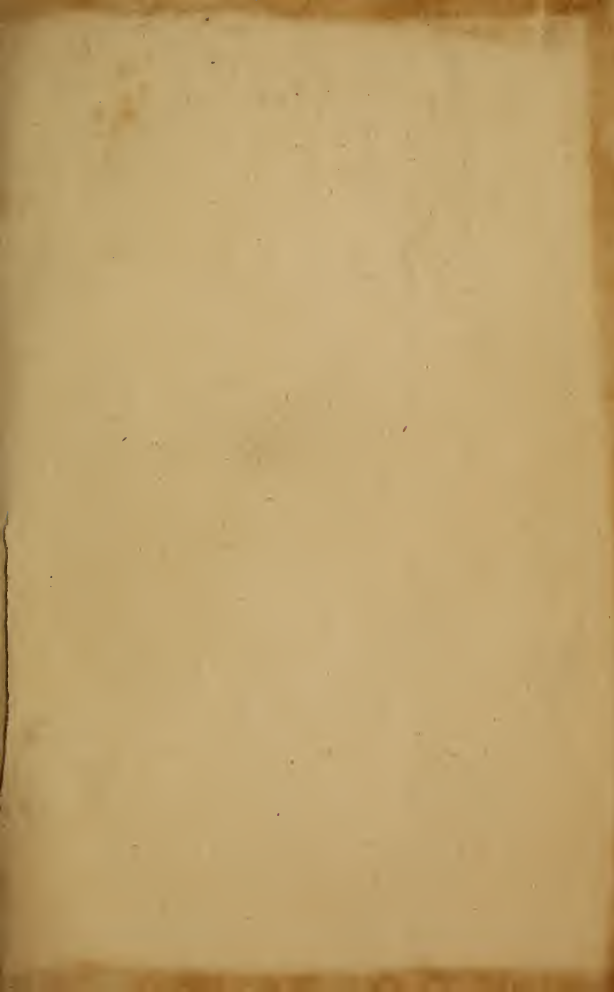
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THE
GROTIAN Religion
DISCOVERED,

At the Invitation of Mr.
Thomas Pierce in his Vindica-
tion.

With a Preface, vindicating the
Synod of *Dort* from the calum-
nies of the New *Tilenus*; and *David*,
Peter, &c. And the Puritanes, and
Sequestrations, &c. from the cen-
sures of Mr. *Pierce*.

By *Richard Baxter*,
CATHOLICK.


LONDON, Printed by R. W. for *Nevill*
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sold by him there, and by *Tho. Breinster* at the
three Bibles, and by *John Starkey* at the
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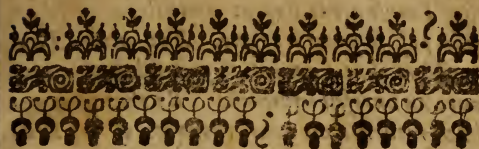


Errata.

PAg. 3. l. 10. blot out *to my self* ; p. 17. l. 13. for *its* r. *is* ;
p. 31. l. 25. for *Vol.* r. *Vot.* p. 32. l. 5. for *formerly* r.
undoubtedly ; p. 31 l. 8. r. *Votum* ; p. 35. l. 15. blot out
know ; p. 36. l. ult. r. *Catholicism* ; p. 37. l. 1. for *convertitur*
r. *connectitur* ; p. 42. l. 16. r. *tell us* ; p. 51. l. 18. r. *alios* ;
l. 19. r. *adeas* r. *es* ; p. 55. l. 9. r. *magnam* ; p. 64. l. 2. r. *Confessio* ;
p. 87. l. 23. r. *For I.*

*The lines and numbers between each Section, are put by
the Printers mistake.*





The Preface, to the Re- verend Mr. *Thomas* *Pierce.*

Reverend Sir,

Sect .I.



Do plainly and faith- §. 1.
fully here render you
that Account of my
thoughts of Grotius
and his English fol-

lowers, which in your Rejoynder to Mr. Bar-
lee, you are pleased to demand, and make my
Duty. I had much rather have been excused
from stirring in this unpleasing business any
more : But if it seem necessary to you, I
must yield : For I confess it is so odious a
thing, to calumniate so Learned a man as
Grotius, and all others of his mind and way,

(* 2)

that

The Preface.

that I must needs Repent and Recant if I be guilty of so great a crime. But while I am confident that I am not, to pretend Repentance were an hurtful hypocrisie. By that time you have returned me your thoughts of my Reasons, I shall be more capable of discerning whether I have been mistaken or not. And if I find that I was, I shall promise you a Recantation instead of a Reply.

§. 2. Sect. 2. In the mean time I joyn with you in Charity to Grotius : You vindicate him from Popery, and I from Dissimulation. Had he been living, I think I should have had more thanks from him then you. If I understand him, he took it for his glory to be a member of that Body of which the Pope is the Head, even to be a Roman Catholick : and therefore would have given you little thanks to vindicate him from such an imputation.

§. 3. Sect. 3. If any shall hence gather, that you are such your self, as I manifest Grotius to have been, I protest against such accusations of you, as no part of my intention : But as you have given too much occasion of them by your vindication, so is it in your power at your pleasure to remove that occasion, by disowning what in Grotius you dislike. But if
still

The Preface.

still you like his Doctrine and Design, but not the name of a Papist, you know that custom is the Master of Speech, and it is not in the power of one or two to alter the signification of common words : But for the things we shall better understand each other.

Se^ct. 4. For your Brotherly and moderate dealing with myself, I must acknowledge your gentleness and charity ; but I would I had been of your counsel , and had been able to have perswaded you to the like to others. In my opinion it would have adorned your Labours far more then all that Learning and Command of words that subserves your partial interest or passion. §. 4.

Se^ct. 5. You seem, as Grotius, to be too much affected to your opinions commonly called Armⁱnian : and too much imbittered against other mens. I must confess to you , that I am grown to a very great confidence , that most of our contentions about those points , are more about words then matter , and that such eager men as you and your Antagonist , do make themselves and others believe that we differ much more about them then we do : And pardon me if I add, that thereby you tell the world, that you do not well under- §. 5.

The Preface.

understand the true state of the Controversie, or else you would not take the breach to be incomparably wider then it is. Our differences are of four sorts, 1. About points which the Calvinists themselves do not commonly hold: Such as that of Physical Predetermination, which is much commoner among the Dominicans then the Protestants: To which (were it of moment) I might add the Supralapsarian Doctrine of Predestination or Reprobation at least; and the Doctrine of Christs dying only for the Elect. You know that the Synod of Dort owneth none of these: and it is that Synod that is the Test of the Calvinists Anti-Arminianism. 2. About matters unrevealed, and utterly unknown to all contenders, and to all the world. 3. About meer names, and words, and methods. 4. About revealed Doctrines of weight. I suppose you will easily consent, that all our quarrels be laid by about the three first. For why should you charge a Party with the opinions of a very few, which upon greatest deliberation in a Synod, the Party will not own; Nay with those opinions that are more proper to their Adversaries? And why should we quarrel about mere words, or unrevealed things? And truly if you will cut off these three sorts of Controversie, it is so little that
will

The Preface.

will be left of the fourth sort, that it will find small work for hot contentions, and be but a poor excuse for such loads of odious inferences, and uncharitable censures as Grotius and others are too much guilty of. I have thoughts, if God will, to demonstrate this; but I know not whether I shall have time. In the mean time consider but this, that the Doctrine of the Divine Decrees is resolved into that of the Divine operations: Lets agree of the last, and we agree of the former: And almost all the Doctrine of the Divine operations, about which we differ, dependeth on the point of Free-will, and will be determined with that. And how far we differ (if at all) in the point of Free-will, I desire you to consider by what I have briefly spoken ad populum in my Treatise of Judgement, pag. 141, 142. And I desire you hereafter to charge none of the errors upon the Anti-Arminians, which in those forty Excuses I have confuted, unless you can shew that I cross the Principles of the Synod of Dort: Or at least, charge them not in these Controversies, with any thing, which that Synod did not own, if you will be just.

SECT. 6. And here I think it my duty to rebuke the unworthy dealing of your friend
that

§. 6.

The Preface.

that wrote the Examination of Tilenus (I am glad to find you disowning it as none of yours) pag. 28, 29. he pretends to give us [concisely but truly] the summe of the Doctrine of the Synod of Dort in the five Articles. And when he hath made this Promise, he presently falls to falsifying, and calumny, unworthy a Divine, a Christian, or a Man : the weight of the case and greatness of his sin, command me to be thus plain : Yea were I of his Party I must say the same. What ! shall so many Countries purposely consult to declare their thoughts, and their writings be common in the hands of all, and the adversary purposely write against them, and pretend to be acquainted with their Doctrine, and make it his design to bring it to be odious to the world, and yet shall falsely tell the world that they bold and assert the things that they are not only silent in, but disown, detest, and are contrary to their Doctrine. Truly this is an exceeding shame to the Arminian and Jesuite cause, to find the Learned Patrons of it, to deal so unconscionably that a Reader cannot believe them ; and that where it is so easie to any to see their falsehoods.

The Preface.

Sect. 7. 1. *Saith he* [They hold, that God by an absolute Decree hath elected to Salvation a very little number of men, without any regard to their faith or obedience whatsoever, and secluded from saving grace all the rest of mankind, and appointed them by the same decree to eternal damnation, without any regard to their impenitency, or infidelity,] *But* 1. *Where talk they of a very little number?* 2. *Its not true that they say he doth it* [without any regard to their faith or obedience whatever,] *for they profess that he hath regard to it,* 1. *as the benefit which he decreeth to give them.* 2. *As the condition of the Glory which he decreeth them.* He decreeth to save none but for their obedience as the fruit of faith, which is not a means or Antecedent to Gods Decree, but to our salvation, as the most rigid Anti-Arminians teach. 3. *He calls that* secluded all the rest from saving grace, which the Synod calls but Preterition, and Non-election, and reliction. 4. *He unworthily feigneth them to say that God* [appointeth them to eternal damnation without any regard to their impenitency or infidelity,] *when they profess, that it is propter infidelitatem & cetera*

The Preface.

tera peccata, that he decrees to damn them, as the Causes of damnation, though not of the Eternal Decree: and they do not only respect Infidelity and other sins as the cause of damnation, but as the state in which God findeth many when he denyeth them the grace of faith; and of all the non elect they determine that God leaves them but in that misery, i to which by their own fault they precipitate themselves: and that he leaves them by his just Judgement to the Malice and Hardness of their own hearts: (§. 6. & 15. art. 1.) Though they deny election to proceed upon foreseen faith (because God decrees to give that faith, before we can be foreseen to have it) yet they purposely pass by the question, Whether foreseen Infidelity be in any the qualification of the object of Reprobation or preterition: But plainly they took foreseen [Malice, Hardheartedness, mens own sin, and their own wayes and common misery] to be the qualification of that object: And they make Preterition an act of Justice in God.

9 8. Sect. 8. And where now is the odious error that this second Tilenus puts such a face upon?
1. Is it in the Number? If he think a greater number are saved or absolutely decreed to salvation, then they do, he should speak out.
2. If

The Preface.

2. If he think that God fore-saw that they would believe and obey, before he decreed to give them faith or the grace of obedience, and consequently that these are only or principally of themselves, and not of God, he must condemn Austine and the rest of the Church, and the Council of Orange and other Councils and Popes themselves, and all the Thomists, Dominicans and Iansenists, and many more, at well as the Synod of Dort: And for my part I wish no more in this of him and you, then may consist with Rational Prayers and Thanksgivings for the Grace of God. Would you not have men pray for faith that want it? Or for more that have it? and give thanks for it when they receive it? Was it not a Rational Prayer [Lord increase our faith] and [Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief.] And was it a Rational Thansgiving of Paul for his converts that God had given them both to Believe and suffer for him? Sure you do not mean when you pray for [Increase of Faith] that God would give you natural free-will which you had before, or that he would send the Gospel to you; but some way that he will effectually procure you to believe. (and doubtless the way of his internal operation is beyond our reach, and therefore beyond

The Preface.

our dispute.) 3. If his offence be at Gods Preterition of men without a foresight of their demerit } as taught by the Synod, it is not their doctrine (true or false) but his forgery, yea it seems contrary to their doctrine. But indeed they (well) affirm that there was the same sin and demerit, in many whom yet God decreed to convert and save. 4. If his offence be that they think that { God doth not effectually convert and save all the rest of the world, } if he be a Christian he believes the same himself: or if he be not, one part of it may be seen. 5. If he be offended that they teach that God doth not give sufficient Grace to the rest; I answer, that whch he calls sufficient Grace (or those of his way) they confess that God giveth to other men as well as to the elect; To give them the Natural Power of Free-will, and a Christ to be believed in, and an offer of Christ and life, and an earnest perswasion to them to accept him, and to leave the matter to their own choice, yea and to add common exciting moving help of the Spirit, which yet is uneffectual, this is it that the Jesuites call sufficient Grace. Who quarrels with them for the name? the Dominicans yield it them; and though the Iansenians deny it them, the Protestants have

The Preface.

no mind to quarrel about a word: the thing
yielded them by all: This General and
Common Grace which such call sufficient,
leaving the matter to the sinners' choice, we
yield that God giveth to the worst that perish.
But be not angry if we thank God for more,
even for giving us both to will and Do.

Sect. 9. 2. Saith this New Tilenus [they §. 9.
hold, that Christ Jesus hath not suffered
death for any other but for those elect on-
ly: having neither had any intent nor
commandment of his Father to make satis-
faction for the sins of the whole world.
Answ. A most shameless falsehood, made, as
they say, of his fingers ends. There's not a
word of the Decrees of the Synod that hath
any such importance. They do indeed assert,
Art. 2. §. 8. That it was only the Elect that
God the Father intended by the death of
Christ effectually to bring to faith, Justifi-
cation and Salvation: which is the same
doctrine with that of Election before menti-
oned. And if this Tilenus think that God
Intended the Justification and Salvation
of all by Christ, its absolutely or condi-
tionally. If absolutely, they shall be saved:
which no Christian that I know believeth;
If but conditionally, 1. The rigidest Anti-

The Preface.

Arminians, even Dr. Twiss doth over and over grant it you of Justification, and Salvation, that Christ died to procure this common grace, that men shall be Justified and Saved if they will believe. 2. But did God purpose to cause in men this condition or not? If he did, then it was Absolutely or Conditionally: If absolutely, it will be done. If conditionally, what is the condition? and so in infinitum——.

2. But contrary to this Accuser the Synod declareth, Art. 2. §. 3. that [This death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect Sacrifice and satisfaction for sins, of infinite value and price, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world,] and that it is [therefore sufficient —— because this death was joyned with the sense of Gods wrath and curse which we by our sins had merited] that is, that the sins of all the world were charged on Christ, and he bore their penalty, as Paræus in his writings to the Synod (and there contained) expresseth it. They add also (§. 5.) that the promise of Salvation to all that will believe must be preached to all without difference, with the command of Faith and Repentance : And (§. 6.) they add that [the reason why many that are

are called by the Gospel do not repent, or believe, but perish in Infidelity, is not through any defect of the sacrifice of Christ offered on the Cross, or insufficiency of it, but by their own fault] And the Brittish Divines, and the Bremish especially, and most clearly Martinus (and Crocius well,) did give in their suffrages for Universal Redemption, which are recorded in the Acts of the Synod, and these Decrees are plainly agreeable.

Sect. 10. And can Tilenus, or you, or any that is most passionate in these points, tell us of one jot more that you ascribe to the death of Christ for all, then the Synod of Dort doth? I must say if you can, its yet beyond my reach or my remembrance. They give more to Christs death for the Elect then you, but no less that I know of, to his death for all then you. For you say that he dyed to bring it to mens choice whether they will have Christ and life or not? and so say they, and Calvinists commonly (as Dallæus hath told you, in the very words of abundance of them.) If you say that according to you, Christ hath Purchased sufficient Grace for all, or for more then the Elect, to cause them to believe. I answer,

§. 10.

1. That the highest Grace with you doth but bring it to their choice; and help, but not determine their wills; and this they grant to others as well as you do. 2. Is it the name of sufficient Grace, or the Thing? The thing that you call so, as I said, they grant to be as common as you can reasonably expect them to imagine, and Christ did not die to purchase empty Names as a benefit. The difference is plainly but in this: The Synod thought that Christ purchased more for some, then you do; but no less for others.

§. II. Sect. II. 3. Saith this Tilenus, they hold [that by Adams fall his Posterity lost their free will, being put to an unavoidable Necessity to do, or not to do, whatsoever they do, or do not, whether it be good or evil; being thereunto predestinate by the eternal and effectual secret decree of God.]

Ans. Unworthy falsification still! Not a word to any such sense in the Synod. Well might this Author conceal his name for Shame of the World. As the words be not in the Decrees of the Synod, so much is there and in many suffrages against the sense. 1. It is but the Moral or Dispositive, or Habitual Freedom of the Will, that they or other Protestants commonly say that

The Preface.

that man hath lost. They all profess that man hath the natural faculty of Free-will. See my forecited pages in my Treatise of Judgement of this. 2. There is not a word in the Decrees of the Synod, that men are put to unavoydable Necessity. 3. Much less to do or not do, whatever they do or do not, good or evil: All this is such a self-devised tale, that no honest man should have been guilty of against the poorest neighbour or enemy, much less against a Party, and a Synod of so many truly Learned and Worthymen. The Question is whether men have original sin or not? Those of you that are of Dr. Jer. Taylors mind in this, speak out, and disown the Pelagians no more, but speak as bitterly of Austin as of the Synod of Dort. Do you believe that all ungodly men, or any man Naturally, hath the Habit of Faith, or Love or Holiness? This is the very Question, if you will rightly understand it.

Se&. 12. The fourth Article forged by this Ghost of Tilenus is, [that God to save his Ele& from the corrupt Mass, doth beget faith in them by a power equal to that whereby he created the world, and raised up the dead, insomuch that such unto whom he gives that Grace, cannot reject it

§. 12.

The Preface.

it; and the rest being reprobate cannot accept of it, though it be offered unto both by the same preaching and Ministry.]

Ans^r. 1. *Where did the Synod say that this was to save his Elect from the corrupt Mass, excluding all others Salvation. And if you quarrel not with a supposed exclusion but an inclusion, then he that denyeth a necessity of Salvation from the corrupted Mass, may tell God he will not be beholden for such a Mercy, and stand to the venture. But if you mean it Exclusively, they profess that faith is the means of our Salvation, not only from the corrupted Mass, but from Infidelity, and the Curse of the Law, and from damnation, and all the sin that would procure it. 2. If you think that God doth not cause faith in us, you will not then pray for it, nor be beholden for it. 3. But if you yield that he causeth it, but not by such a Power as you mention, you either think that God causeth it without Power (which is an opinion that needs no censure) or that he hath many Powers, and causeth one thing by one Power and another thing by another: Which is as unbeseeming a Divine or Christian to assert. Is not all the world of sober Christians agreed, that Omnis Potentia Dei est Omnipotentia?*

The Preface.

nipotentia ? *Ether* God causeth faith by the same Omnipotency by which he created the world, or else he causeth it not at all : For he hath no Power but one, and that is omnipotency. In these several senses it may be said, that a thing is the effect of Omnipotency. 1. Properly and strictly as denominating the cause. And so all that God doth is the effect of Omnipotency, even the life of a worm or fly : and therefore you cannot deny it of Grace. 2. Improperly, as meaning that the Agent doth act to the utmost of his Power, and could do no more : and thus never did any Divine that was well in his wits say, that Grace is the effect of Gods Omnipotency. 3. Improperly also, as meaning that so much Power as was put forth in causing faith, would have created a world, had it been that way employed. And this cannot be their meaning, because sober Divines do not use to ascribe several degrees of Power (unless denominatively, *Ob effectis*) to God : and if they did, yet would they not pretend to judge of the scantling, and say, This work hath more power and this less : especially in such Mystrious works : Gods will is sufficient to cause the thing willed : And the willing of Grace, will not cause a world,

nor

The Preface.

nor the willing of a world will not cause Grace. 4. Improperly, as only describing the degree of excellency in the effects, as related to the cause; As if they said, there is so much excellency in this effect of Grace, that no cause below Omnipotency, that is, below God himself, could procure it. And he that denieth this, let him prove if he can, that any creature without God can Sanctifie. 5. And if only the several effects are compared, as if the meaning were, [the work of Grace doth more clearly Demonstrate Omnipotency in the cause, then the creation of the world] I have met with none that dare pretend to be a judge in the comparison or competition. In some respect the work of Grace demonstrateth Omnipotency more, as being against more actual resistance: In other respects the creation demonstrateth it much more. But sure sober Divines did never intend to make themselves judges of these things, or trouble the Church with disputes about them.

S. 13. Sect. 13. 4. You slanderously say that the Synod saith [the Reprobates cannot accept it] They have no such words: And for sence, they deny them no Power but Moral, which is the Willingness Habitual it self; they knew that all had a Passive and Obediential

The Preface.

dential Power, and also a Natural Active Power or Faculty of willing, and so far can Accept : The Question is only of the Moral Disposition : And I pray you, if you are a Christian, or a man of observation, tell us whether you think that an Infidel hath a Habit of faith, or a Disposition of Believing ; Or whether a drunkard have a Habit or Disposition of sobriety, or a Whoremonger of Chastity, or a Worldling of Heavenliness. The Synod never doubted but that men have the Natural Power of Willing ; and what then can be moreover imagined to be in the Will, besides the Moral Inclination to Will ? Now I dare appeal to any reasonable man whether these vicious persons have holy inclinations to the contrary virtue ? that is, whether a wicked man be Habitually or dispositively a godly man ? This is the very question when you have driven it to the Head, about the Power of unsanctified men to Repent, believe, love God, &c.

Sect. 14. And you wrong them also in §. 14. feigning them simply to say, that those to whom God gives grace cannot reject it. They say indeed that [Post Dei operationem, (quoad ipsum) non manet in homi-

nis

The Preface.

nis potestate regenerari vel non regenerari, &c.] For when effectual Grace hath done its work, the man is regenerate already, or else grace were not effectual : besides, by [Power] here they mean nothing but the Proportion of mans corruption and resisting disposition, compared with that Grace that shall infallibly prevail against it. For the manner of Gods operation, they confess it such as man cannot here comprehend (Art. 3, 4. §. 13.) And §. 16. they tell you that [Sicuti post lapsum homo non definit esse homo, intellectu & voluntate præditus, nec peccatum, quod universum genus humanum pervasit, naturam generis humani sustulit, sed depravavit & spiritualiter occidit : ita etiam hæc divina regenerationis gratia, non agit in hominibus tanquam truncis & stipitibus, nec voluntatem ejusque proprietates tollit, aut invitam violenter cogit ; sed spiritualiter vivificat, sanat, corrigit, suaviter simulac potenter flectit.] So that you see they deny not Natural Free-will, which is a Power of Choosing or Refusing, but Moral Free-will, which is a Spiritual Inclination : And so they deny not in the Regenerate the Natural Power of sinning and resisting grace., (much less in the elect unregenerate) but only that this Power, or any ill disposition

The Preface.

disposition of theirs, shall eventually frustrate the Grace that comes from a Resolution to renew them.

Sect. 15. *I would at this time only ask you, Whether every Jesuite will not confess that God did from Eternity fore-know who would Believe and Repent, and who not? If so, then whether it be a rational conceit, that God in sending Christ to die, and the Word and Spirit to convert men, hath as full a purpose that these shall be effectual to convert and save them that he fore-knew from Eternity would never be converted or saved, as them that he fore-knew would certainly be converted and saved? And will not most of your most odious inferences fall upon your own Doctrines, if you confess Gods fore-knowledge, as well as upon theirs that maintain his Decree of giving effectual Grace to some.* §. 15.

Sect. 16. *The fifth feigned Article of Tilenus is, [That such as have once received that Grace by Faith, can never fall from it finally or totally, notwithstanding the most enormous sins they can commit.] Answ. This also is in his own abusive language, and not in theirs, whose words concerning falling away are [Quod quoad ipsos non tantum facile* §. 16.

The Preface.

facile fieri posset, sed & indubiè fieret ; respectu autem Dei fieri omnino non potest ; cum nec consilium ipsius mutari, promissio excidere, &c. non possit.] So that if you speak of Power in them, they say that the Regenerate cannot stand, and not that they cannot fall : But because Gods purpose is unchangeable, &c. therefore necessitate consequentiæ at least you must confess your selves that it follows that the Elect must necessarily persevere ; and so there is a Logical or Moral Impossibility of their Apostacy. Will not any Jesuite confess this, that all that (suppose on fore-knowledge) God electeth to salvation, must necessitate consequentiæ infallibly be saved ? No doubt they will: and some of them much more.

§. 17. Sect. 17. Your addition is a perverse insinuation [notwithstanding the most enormous sins they can commit.] It seems to intimate, that they may commit as enormous sins as others, and yet not fall away : When the Synod holds that in committing gross sins, they fall into a present incapacity of salvation, but that God will keep them from such sins as are inconsistent with Habitual Grace, (or Charity, as some call it.) So much for Tilenus.

Sect.

The Preface.

Sect. 18. *And now on this occasion §. 18.*
(having done with your friend) I return to
you Mr. P. your self. You recite some words
out of my third Disput. of Sacraments;
which you bid your Reader believe not a word
of, pag. 115. Wherein had you done justly,
1. You should have noted some difference be-
tween a man godly, and one that is not noto-
riously ungodly. 2. You should not have feign-
ed me to speak that of Solomon, which you
utter assertively as my own, when I purposely
added that it is the common opinion, and that
I desired all men to take heed of taking such
controverted passages for certainties in their
temptations. 3. And in reason you should
have intimated to your Reader, that as I lay
down ten particular proofs of Notorious un-
godliness; so I suppose, both that the sin of
Peter, David, &c. was exceedingly in re-
gard of manner, ends, concomitants, &c.
different from the like fact in a graceless man,
and yet that it put them into that present in-
capacity for heaven, that Actual Repentance,
and deep and serious Repentance too, was ne-
cessary to their recovery and forgiveness:
A scrap of my words may easily be mis-
understood

The Preface.

§. 19. Sect. 19. I suppose, by my Papers of Perseverance, you will not think me your violent or rigid adversary; and truly I am heartily willing of further information: And therefore to debate this point a little with you, I will tell you why I cannot yet believe that Peter or David (for of Solomons case I told you my own uncertainty) were utterly unsanctified graceless men, and such as had need of another New birth, after their fall; or as the Papists say, that they had wholly excused Charity, or the Spirit of God, or Habitual special Grace. 1. I do not find any mention of them or any others that were twice regenerated, or sanctified in Scripture. 2. Those passages, Heb. 6. & 10. seem to import, that if men should thus wholly excuse the Spirit of God, there were no renewing them by Repentance. 3. Christ saith, that the Hearers like the good ground that give deep rooting to the seed, do not fall away in tryal: But David and Peter were such by Gods own testimony; ergo—— I shall pass by all the common Arguments for perseverance, because they are mentioned by so many: but 4. No Scripture tells us that David or Peter were void of Charity, (though as to the degree, and act and sense, we are agreed that it was decayed,

The Preface.

decayed, and so far David begs for a recovery.) 5. David prays Psalm 50. that God would not for that sin, take his holy Spirit from him : which implies that yet he had it. 6. The thing in it self seems utterly improbable to me, that David or Peter should have no Love to God, after those particular sins. The sins I know were odious, and deserved an utter desertion of God : But God inflicts not all that we deserve. 1. It is not imaginable that this sudden prevalency of sensuality did so far change the judgement of David or Peter, that hereupon they Habitually esteemed the creature above God, and valued the pleasures of sin before the Pleasing and the favour of God. Its true that Actually in the time of sinning, the power of sensuality prevailed against the Act of Charity ; and so it doth in every sin that men commit, according to the measure of the sin. But that Habitually God was afterward set less by then the sensual pleasure, by these holy men, is utterly improbable. 2. And you cannot imagine that the Faith of David and Peter were Habitually extirpated, and they were turned Unbelievers. And I cannot think (whatever the Papists have yet said to the contrary) that a sound Christian faith is separable from Charity, though a superficial opinionative

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The Preface.

belief may. 3. Do you think that if David or Peter had after their sin, been upon sober deliberation put to it, they would not have chosen the Love of God before the world or sinful pleasure? I think they would. 4. Is it likely that this one Act should turn their hearts into as Graceless a frame as the ungodly themselves that never were sanctified? It is not likely. Yet so it must be, if they excused all the Love of God. 5. I think it was the Habit of Grace, that the Gracious looks of Christ on Peter, and the words of Nathan to David, did excite and bring again to Act; Peter was converted indeed by a particular Conversion from that sin, when he Repented; but surely he was not converted a second time from a state of unbelief, or of ungodliness, or uncharitableness, or unholyneſs. 6. I verily think that after his sin, David went on in his ordinary course of Religion and Obedience in all things else (abating in the Degrees): Otherwise his Apostacy would have been noted by those about him, and so his very sin would scarce have been hid, which he desired to hide. And I do not think that he went to God daily in publick and private, without any love at all. These things to me are utterly improbable. 7. Christ prayed before hand for Peter that his faith should not fail: therefore
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The Preface.

his Charity was not totally extinct. To conclude this : They that build on the Rock, persevere in tryal, Match. 7. 25. because they build on the Rock ; But David and Peter had built upon a Rock : therefore I think they did not totally fall from Habitual Grace.

Sect. 20. Truly Sir, I am willing to learn §.20. better that Doctrine that is according to godliness, and to disclaim all that is against it : But you must hereafter learn to do us that justice, as not to take our expressions of the worst that the mercy of God will cover in a man obedient in the main, to be our descriptions of Godly men. My thoughts are, that men are to be judged godly or ungodly according to the predominant Estimation, Election, Resolution and Operation of their souls, and the bent and course of their lives, and not by a particular act : because no Act will prove us holy indeed, but what proveth a Habit ; and a predominant Habit. And withal, that men thus Habituated, never live in a course of wilful sin, nor have any one sin which for Ends, Concomitants and all, is such as that of unsanctified men: And that the ungodly have never one true act of saving Love to God. But yet for all that, I think, that Good

The Preface.

men may have one hour of their lives so bad^d (or a day, or more) and bad men may have some hours of their lives so far good, that you will make but a blind unjust judgement of them, if you will judge them both by that one hour ; the good by the worst hour of his life, and the bad by the best : and especially if you cull out that one hour of a good mans life, and silence the bent of heart and life that is for God, and then say, [This is Mr. Baxters Godly man.] I do not think that God will deal thus by us. And I would make this motion to you in the daily exercise of your watch: Try whether in the very omission of some duties to your flock, or condemning of your Brethren, &c. you may not have sins that are accompanied with as little love of God, as Davids and Peters more disgraceful and (materially) heinous sins. If so, consider whether they prove you graceless. You little suspect that the uncharitable passages in this very learned Book of yours, are as probable a symptom of the absence of Charity as the sin of David or Peter were. I would have you fear it, and search with jealousy, and judge your self as impartially as you do David and Peter. Be not angry with me, if I tell you that if I must needs choose one of the two, I had rather die in the state of David before

The Preface.

before Nathan spake to him, or of Peter after he had denyed his Lord, then of Mr. Pierce that hath committed no such sin, now after this Book, which its like you repent not of (with the rest of your failings, which are known to God.)

Sect. 21. To save the labour of oft repetitions, I intreate you to take my judgement of the sins of the Godly (as Peter, &c.) to be that which I have expressed in my Directions for Peace of Conscience, but more distinctly in my Disput. of Justification, pag. 397, 398. in the end of my Papers to Mr. Tombes : For that is it that I yet stand to. §.21.

Sect. 22. Its strange that in an Age that knows the Lives of those that you are for, and against, you can make it the ground of opposing the Puritanes, as you call them, because their Doctrines lead men to Licentiousness, and destroy godliness : And the same saith Grotius, when still he confesseth the Papists Lives to be such as if they believed not their Doctrine. If really your Doctrine be so much more holy then theirs, and theirs so much more unholy then yours, its strange that the difference appeareth not in mens lives ; §.22.

The Preface.

lives ; or at least , that their lives should be so much better then their Doctrines, and other mens so much worse. Help them but heartily to promote Holiness , and the men that you are so much against, will love and honour you whether you will or no.

§. 23. Sect. 23. *Having H. Fitz Simmon's Brittanomachia in my hand a little before I saw your Book, where that most Petulant Jesuite devideth us English Protestants into Formalists and Puritane, and inveigheth against the Puritane as their greatest enemies, with a double measure of malignity, I was sorry to find yours to use so much of his language, and that the Jesuite and his Formalists should so far accord in so bad a work. Doubtless it is your desire to be understood by your Readers: And if so, you must expect that the word [Puritane] which you use for a reproach, should be taken in the vulgar sense: or else you were too blame that you would not give us your Description of a Puritane, that we might know your meaning. A Puritane is not the same thing to one man as to another. With a Papist, a Puritane is a zealous Protestant, that is nearer the Dominicans then the Jesuites in Doctrinals, and is most averse to the Papal way.*
With

The Preface.

With King James a Puritane was a turbulent seditious Separatist, or Non-conformist : For he profest he meant not all Presbyterians or Non-conformists by that name , much less all Calvinists. With some Protestants, a Puritane is one of the old Catharists, that thinks a man may be perfect without sin in this life , as Grotius and the Papists do : And because this is the Antientest use of the word, take heed lest by vindicating Grotius you make folks think that you are a Puritane your self. With an Arminian a Puritane is one that is against Arminianism. With the old Episcopal party, a Puritane was a Non-conformist. With the late Prelates, a Puritane was either a Non-conformist , or a Conformist that in Doctrine was no Arminian (of which sort Pet. Heylin gave us a Description by their opinions) ; Or else a Conformist that would not bow towards the Altar, or read the Book for Dancing on the Lords daies , or that Preached twice a day , &c. such variety of Puritanes were then made : These were the senses of this word among the Leaders of the severall parties : But among the vulgar a Puritane (all over England wherever I came) was one that would speak seriously or reverently of God or Heaven, or of the Scripture, and that would talk of Hell or the life

The Preface.

to come, or call men to prepare for death or judgement, or that would not swear, or would reprove a swearer, or a drunkard, or a Prophaner of holy things: or would not spend part of the Lords day in sports or idleness; or that would pray in his family, or read the Scripture and pious Books, or religiously educate and instruct his children, or teach his servants to fear the Lord, or would go hear a Sermon at the next Parish when there was none at home, &c. These were the people (whether they were conformable or not) that in all Countries were called Puritanes and Precisians, and hated and reviled openly as if they had been men not to be endured on earth. And in Preparation to the war, not very long before it, your party in their wisdom, gave them a new name, and the Puritane was called a Round-head (A Learned invention; intimating that the Puritanes do speak, and not as Long-heads, bark or grunt.) And when the wars had given Liberty to the rage of such as hated Puritanes, then ordinarily he was a Puritane or Round-head that was heard to pray or sing a Psalm in his house, and such like. Sometimes the sign of Purgation, by which men must prove themselves no Puritanes, was, If they could swear nine oaths in a breath. The way that

The Preface.

one company of the Kings Souldiers testified their freedom from this crime by (as credible impartial witnesses in Somersetshire told me, that saw them do it) was by Pricking their fingers, and letting their blood run into the cup, and drinking a health to the Devil in their own blood. Now among all these senses, me thinks you should have told men which is yours, before you had talkt so much against the Puritanes, unless you would comprehend them all. In the mean time, as Custom is the master and interpreter of speech, so you that speak to the vulgar, must by them be supposed to mean as the vulgar, and by a Puritane to mean a man that feareth God, and seeketh first his Kingdom and Righteousness, and more carefully provideth for heaven then earth, and is so precise, that he will not drink, and swear, and go to hell for the company of good fellows. The impious rout of the vulgar will understand you thus, whether you will or not. By which you may conjecture what good your Book is like to do them, whatever you intend. Had you been writing against Papists, would you not be loth to say that they are all Hereticks and Traytors? And yet if you will say that you mean by Papists only such as Grotius doth ascribe and mean, when he speaks against them, you might

The Preface.

might easily justify the truth of such words. But all the Papists in Europe that know of it, would nevertheless suppose you wronged them, as long as the common use of the word [Papist] doth teach men to make a more extensive interpretation of it. And so in the present case.

§. 24. Sect. 24. And let me tell you that Whereas in your commendation of Grotius, you intimate that you are a friend to Catholicism, in Principles and Disposition, you lamentably deviate from it, in your uncharitable censures of the Puritanes and Presbyterians; Its no Catholick Church that cannot hold such men as these, nor a Catholick Disposition that cannot embrace them with that unfeigned special Love that's due to Christians. I am confident, upon long acquaintance with those that the world calls Puritanes, that God thinks not of them as so odious a Generation, as you endeavour to make them seem to the World. I can say with boldness that I have attained to so much impartiality in my Religion, that I would gladly cleave to any party how much disgraced soever, that I could perceive were in the right: And after the best account I can take of all the parties now on earth, these are my fixed resolutions and desires,

desires, even to be Catholick in my Estimation and respect to all, Loving all Christians of what sort soever, that may be truly called Christians; but not partaking of the errors or sins of all that I thus love; and therefore not to imitate all in their Way of worship or conversation; but with this Catholick Charity to have the Conversation of such as the World hath long called Puritanes; and in this state I desire to die. And I had rather my right hand were used as Cranmers, then I should have written against Puritanes what you have done. O how should I fear that terrible saying of our Lord, *Matth. 18. 6.* Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a Mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the Sea.

Sect. 25. But to pass by these: I have here in these following sheets obeyed your invitation, about my censures of Grotius and his English followers, and given you the Reasons of what I said. But I desire you to consult with some that are more impartial then you or I, whether you be not guilty of injustice in calling your Book [A vindication of Episcopal Divines] from me: Intimating

§. 25.

to those that take words in their common sense, that I had laid some charge upon Episcopal Divines in the general, when it was so few that there I speak of, with a description of them, and a profession of my great respect and reverence to so many of the rest. And if you would know more then yet I have told you, what evidence there is that England befriended the design of Grotius, I pray you read Mr. Prins Introduction to Canterburys Tryal; and his History of his Tryal; and his Rome's Master-piece; and his Popish Royal Favourite: Of all which I now recommend nothing to you, but the Proved Evidences and Matters of fact, which you may receive from the greatest enemy.

§. 26. Sect. 26. One thing I have a mind to advise with you about for my own information: I perceive (without distinction) you do with some reproach and bitterness express your dislike of Ministers living on Squestrations: Not knowing your Reasons, I am desirous to be better informed herein, to avoid much guilt which else I may and do incur if I be mistaken: For I must confess to you that it is not only my opinion that the thing is lawful, but that I take it for one of the best works I can do, to help to cast out a bad Minister,

The Preface.

nister, and to get a better in the place : So that I prefer it (as a work of mercy) before much Sacrifice. As for casting out Able, Faithful, Godly Ministers, because they are Prelatical, Presbyterial, Independent, Arminians, or interested in the late civil differences, this I utterly disown : But the casting out of the utterly insufficient, ungodly, unfaithful, scandalous, or any that do more harm then good, I take it to be one of the most pious and charitable works (supposing a better put in the place) that I can put my hand to : Now if I be mistaken in this, I should be glad of your help for my conviction : For I am still going on in the guilt. I need not go to Mr. Whites Centuries to be acquainted of the Qualities of the Ejected : Our Countries have had too many of them, that have long been a burden instead of a blessing ; Some never preached, but read the Common-Prayer Book, and some preached much worse then they that were never called Preachers. Some understood not the Catechism or Creed, many of them lived more in the Ale-house then the Church, and used to lead their people in Drunkenness, Cursing, Swearing, Quarreling, and other ungodly practises, and to mend all by railing at the Puritanes and Precisians : Some that were better, would be drunk

The Preface.

drunk but now and then, and preach once a day (remembering still to meet with the Precise, lest their hearers should have any mind to become Godly), but neglected most of the Pastoral care, and lived in much worldliness and prophaneſs, though not so disgracefully as the rest. Now my opinion hath been and is,

1. That it is a work of great charity to souls, and honour to Christ and the Church and Gospel, to cast out these men, till they prove reformed.
2. That when they are cast out, others that are more fit must be put into their places, and live on the Church maintenance as these did.

My Reasons for the first are, because I am a Christian, and believe that there is a God, a Heaven and an Hell, and that our people have souls to save or lose, and that a Ministers [taking heed to himself and unto Doctrine, and continuing therein, is Gods appointed means of saving himself and them that hear him, 1 Tim. 4. 16. with many the like Reasons, which being obvious I recite not. My Reasons for the second are, 1. Because the maintenance is for the Ministry, and the Ministry is for the end, even the good of souls and the honour of God, &c. He therefore ceaseth to be the Minister, or do the work, or be capable of the ends, and thus by his own viciousness, doth cease to have

The Preface.

have a right to the maintenance : and be that is the Minister and doth the work, ought by the Magistrate to have the maintenance conferred on him. 2. From a Parity of Reason : If it be just and necessary in lower cases, much more in this. If every City had a Physitian that was maintained by a publick stipend for the publick service : and if ignorant, or malicious, or careless men get in, that kill men instead of curing them, it were cruel and bloody Charity to keep in these men, and let them kill more, for fear of Sequestering their maintenance. To let a cowardly, unskilful or trayterous Commander, keep his place and undo the Army, and cast away his Souldiers lives, for fear of Sequestering his pay, is cruel Charity. To let an ignorant Pilot cast away the Ship, for fear of Sequestering his pay, is also cruel Charity : So by a School-master, a Steward of your estate, or the like : And to leave the City without a Physitian, the Army or Regiment without Commanders, the Ship without a Pilot, lest another should live on the Sequestration, is as cruel still. 3. It was the intent of the Donors, and of God himself in requiring and accepting the Donation, that the maintenance should be finally and chiefly given to God and the Church, and not to particular men, but in order to these

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The Preface.

ends : and therefore the Right must be secured (and the use) to God and the Church ; or else the Intent of the Donors will be frustrated. 4. What a misery else will the Church be cast into, if the souls of thousands must be left desolate, because a Woolf is once crept in? 5. This would discourage others from ever being Benefactors to the Church , if they see that the Churches enemies must keep it as their due , because they have got possession. 6. So long as the fore-described men did keep their Church-maintenance , I think, before God they were usurpers , (like the Physitian that takes money for killing men by ignorant applications , poysons, or neglect) And therefore that they are bound , if possible, to make Restitution of all the Tythes or other maintenance that ever they received (while they were such) as truly as if they had broke mens houses for it, or robbed them by the high-way. And if it be so, then cannot it be unjust for the Magistrate to dispossess them of it, and deliver it to others. If (as you seem to mean) you would have had none of all those Insufficient ones, Drunkards and the rest before described, to be Sequestred , nor any better put in their places, but all to be as it was under the Prelates ; or if you think the fore-described to be as good as the Puritanes that are now substituted, that
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The Preface.

differ from you, plead then no more to this Generation for the Piety of your Principles : For its easie to see what a friend you are to the Church, and what a case you would bring it to if you had your will. You would then with Grotius, do more then wish that there were not a Puritane left in the world. But if this be not your meaning, it had been meet that you had spoken with limitation, and told us what Sequestrations you are against, and not have spoken so in general.

SECT. 27. Your phrase of [growing fat or lusty upon Sequestrations] with such like, do seem to intimate, that you either are one of those, or uncharitably judge others to be such, that take the carnal Accommodations of the maintenance, to exceed the flesh-displeasing duties and sufferings that faithful Ministers must expect. I will not say to you as Grotius to Rivet, Viles, vanalesque animæ, &c. Men judge as they are : but I will seriously profess to you, that I unfeignedly judge myself far below many Ministers about me that live upon Sequestrations, in point of self-denyal, and of exemplary holiness ; and yet I that am so far below them, can truly say, 1. That if you could give me but probable evidence that my Ejection and

§. 27.

The Preface.

Sequestration and Silence would be more to the good of souls (by a better supply) then my continuance in the Ministry, and that the Church would have a better provision if we were out , I would prevent a Sequestration , and be so far from being against it , as that I would presently surcease myself ; yea and be glad to further the Ejection of all the Puritanes , as you call them , in the Land , if I did believe that the Church would be bettered by the change ; and I would not beg for the Mercy of a fifth part for them , but let them live as well as they can , if the Church have benefit by it. 2. And that if you could but assure me that it were lawful for me , and better for the Church thus to surcease , and deliver up to you or any other my work and maintenance , my flesh would rejoyce in the ease , and my mind in the benefit of the Church ; and if I know what is in my heart , I should be no more sorry for the loss of my Church-maintenance and place , then the Ox is for being unyoked , or the School-boies for the breaking up of School. Do you in the ears of the world , give out such thoughts of the painful , burdensom , suffering life of faithful Ministers . as if their Sequestrations were so valuable for men to grow fat and lusty upon , as to make such a life seem desirable to the flesh ,
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The Preface.

which calls for so much patience and self-denial? So many temptations have I felt my self, to run away with Jonas from Gods work, and so oft am I provoked to look back, and such delightful thoughts hath my flesh of a retired private life, (looking towards it as the horse to his Provinder or Pasture) and so oft have I been driven to pray to God for the pardon of this sin, and strength against it, (when yet my discouragements are less then most about me meet with) that I must needs take it to be my duty both to rejoyce with thanks and praise to God, that so many Godly painful Ministers can still hold on, under all their discouragements from the wickedness and ingratitude of men, and the greatness of their burden, and also daily to beg of God that he would support them with patience, and help them to bear their heavy burden, and conquer the with-drawings of the flesh, lest they should forsake the work and burden, and therewithall the power, preheminance and maintenance, which you would make men think they do so highly value.

Sect. 28. As for your main Controversie §. 28.
with Mr. Barlee, I find no call to interpose
in it any further then to tell you, that If it
shall be proved to you that the Calvinists that
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The Preface.

follow the Synod of Dort, or contradict them not, do extend the Mercy of God, and the Merits, Sufferings and Grace of Christ as much to all as you do, or as the Jesuites themselves do; then me thinks I should intreate you to be reconciled to them, and to forbear your indignation, and odious characters and inferences: But whether they do so, I shall leave you to judge, when with what is said you have considered what follows.

§. 29. Sect. 29. 1. That the Jesuites about Election say not that God hath Absolutely Elected all to life, but that he hath Elected certain qualifications to be the Condition, and so hath chosen all men to be saved on Condition they Repent and Believe, &c. This much do the friends of the Synod of Dort grant you as a common thing. They confess that God hath from Eternity Decreed that Faith and Repentance shall be the Conditions of life, and that none but the persevering shall be saved; and that he hath Decreed that there shall be a General Gift or promise made of pardon and life to all upon these Conditions: And though they like not the name of a Conditional Decree as importing that the Act of Decreeing is suspended on a condition, yet they profess (even Dr. Twiss himself oft) that

that the Decree doth suspend the Benefit offered us, upon a Condition. So that truly (if I can understand them) they are for as much General Election to the utmost as the Jesuites are: But the difference is that the Synod is for more: Even for a special Election of some to be Infallibly saved (agreeable to the Scriptures): Which no whit diminisheth the Mercy that is common to others: They have not the less because we have more.

Sect. 30. And the same may be said of §. 30.
the Purchase as of the Decree. That the sins of all the world were the cause of Christs death, or as Paræus saith, in Script. Synodal) Were laid on Christ, the Synod never denyed; nor that it is a satisfaction sufficient for all (which they maintain); nor that Christ hath procured a Grant and offer of pardon and life to all on condition of faith and repentance: So that they grant as much for All as the Jesuites: Only they say, he hath done more for some, that are given him in a special manner by the Father.

Sect. 31. The same also I may say of the §. 31.
Gift of Grace. The Jesuites say, that all men (that hear the Gospel at least) have so
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The Preface.

much Grace bestowed from Christ, as that the matter is brought to the choice of their own wills, whether they will have Christ and life or not; And so say the followers of Augustine and the Synod: Only they add, that Christ doth more for some, then this; not only bringing it to the choice of their wills, but giving them the Grace infallibly to chose it.

§. 32. *SECT. 32. The same also may be said of the Grace of perseverance. The Jesuites say that he giveth all men to persevere if they will: And the Synodists say that and more, with Augustine, that he giveth the will and perseverance it self to the Elect.*

§. 33. *SECT. 33. It is true that whereas Augustine thought that Eventually the Elect only persevere; and some that are sanctified and not Elect, do fall away; the Synod do judge otherwise: But note, 1. That they deny not but men may fall from a present capacity of salvation, and under the necessity of a renewed Repentance to put them again into a present capacity. 2. That this is nothing to the point in hand, of the extent of Grace, save only that the Synodists do extend Grace further, or advance it more then the Jesuites do.*

The Preface.

do. For they allow as much to all as the Jesuites, even for perseverance ; but as Augustine and the Dominicans give more to some (the Elect) then the Jesuites ; so the Synod gives more to some then Augustine ; or if you say, they give less , because they deny Sanctification to the non-elect ; as that is but a mercy that increaseth their misery according to the Jesuites, so its more fitly said , that they give more then less : He that saith [All that ever are sanctified truly, shall be saved] doth more advance the grace of God, then he that saith [Some that shall never be saved are sanctified.]

Se&t. 34. And as for the point of Free-Will, the Jesuites and Dominicans differ about the Definition of it ; and the Feuds seem unreconcilable : The Synod hath not meddled with defining Natural Free-Will : and therefore you cannot say they are your adversaries ; And if they had, yet that is a Philosophical Controversie , and not about the extent of Grace : So that I think I may conclude that the Synod gives as much as the Arminians or Jesuites to Universal Grace , both in Decree, Redemption , and Execution by Collation of Grace ; but they give more to the Elect.

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§. 35. Sect. 35. *And seeing this is (I think) undeniable , judge I beseech you but impartially, whether it be Christian dealing to give out, that they do by the restraint of Grace , make God a Tyrant, Cruel, not lovely to man, a Dissembler, with abundance of the like; when they came not a step behind the Jesuites or Arminians in setting forth Gods Love to All, but go beyond them in Extolling his special Love and Grace to some, even to his Elect.*

§. 36. Sect. 36. *If you say, that they withall assert, that without this special Grace men cannot Repent, Believe, &c. and therefore they make God cruel in denying them that which is of necessity to salvation. I answer, 1. If they do say this, they do not deny a jot of Grace that you assert, but only assert that Original Pravity which the adversaries deny. Let that then be known to be the difference , that they make God more Gracious , and man more sinful and impotent then you do : and do not say that which is not so, that they make God less Gracious , because they make man more sinful. But 2. I told your Tilenus the truth even now, that its an hard Question whether in this you differ at all, (unless with the flat Pelagians you deny Original*

The Preface.

ginal sin.) For what mean you or they, when you say men Can or Cannot Repent and Believe? Is there any thing in the will besides a Natural Power or Faculty, and an Habit, Disposition or Inclination to act, and the act it self? I know of no more: And as to the Natural Power of Willing, the Synod is agreed with you that it is in all: or else they were no men: And so far all Can Repent and Believe: But as to the Inclination or Habit, the Jesuites themselves cannot deny but the Impenitent are without it; yea more, that they have the contrary habit of evil; and so far they Cannot Repent or do well. So that when the Synod says they Cannot, they speak but of a Moral Impotency, which is nothing else but Habitual unwillingness; and so the Cannot and the will not is the same thing: and its all one to say, [The Impenitent Cannot Repent without special Grace] as to say, [The Impenitent are so Habitually Impenitent, that they will not Repent without special Grace.] Some other objections I know may here be raised, which I may not be so tedious as to discuss at this time.

Sect.

The Preface.

§.37. Sect. 37. *These things considered, I beseech you Brother in the name of Christ, to cease your too uncharitable distances and censures, and entertain yet those Principles that are truly Catholick, and dare not to shut out any from your Love, or Peace, that you cannot Prove that Christ shutteth out. Especially take heed of using thus the choicest of his servants, but look upon them with a single eye. And for them and the Synod of Dort, I may well challenge that Justice from you, as to impute no such opinions to them which they purposely disown and publickly profess to detest: As [That the most hainous sins do not hinder the salvation of the Elect, however they live: That the Reprobate cannot be saved, though they truly perform all the works of the Saints; That God by his own meer will, without any respect at all to sin, or sight of it, did predestinate and create the most of the world to damnation; That Reprobation is the cause of Infidelity and Impiety, in the same manner as Election is the fountain and cause of faith and piety; That many harmless Infants of Believers are snatcht from the mothers breasts, and tyrannically cast into Hell, so that neither Baptism, nor the Churches prayers in*
Baptism

The Preface.

Baptisma can profit them. *These* with abundance more (*that are charged on them*) the Reformed Churches do with all their hearts detest.] *Saith the Synod themselves,* in Conclusionē Decretorum.

Sect. 38. *To conclude, we should live in Peace, if the advice of the Synod (ibid.)* §.38.
were followed [*A phrasibus denique iis omnibus abstineant quæ præscriptos nobis genuini sanctarum scripturarum sensus limites excedunt, & protervis sophists justam an-
sam præbere possint, doctrinam Ecclesiarum Reformatarum sugillandi, aut calum-
niandi.*] *And if withall we were humbly
conscious of our own frailty and fallibility,
and could maintain that unfeigned Charity
to our Brethren, which becometh all the Dis-
ciples of Christ, and which would cause us
to say and do by others (even in our Contro-
versal writings and private speeches of them)
as we would have them say and do by us.*

*Dear Brother, you must either take this
course, or wish you had taken it.*

These Books following of the same
Authors, are also Printd for *Nevil Sim-*
mons Book-seller in *Kedermminster*.

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nion, and mans necessary self-resignation and
Subjection, in two Assize Sermons preachd at
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men, and all the Rich, directing them how they
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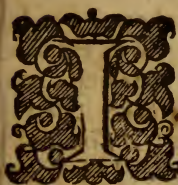
THE



THE
 Religion of *Grotius*
 DISCOVERED
 Upon the Invitation of Mr. *Thomas*
Pierce's Vindication.

April 9. 1658. Incept.

SECT. I.



IN a Book called *Christian* §. 1.
Concord, having to do
 with some that will have
 no Peace, but by the de-
 grading of all the Prote-
 stant Ministers, and un-
 churching all the Protestant Churches that
 are not Prelatical, I thought it my duty to
 D warn

warn those that are in danger of the design of such as under the name of Episcopal Divines, do prosecute the design of *Cassander* and *Grotius*, to reconcile us to the Pope, upon certain abatements and Reformations of the Romanists. Hereupon I find the Learned and Reverend Dr. *Sanderson* take notice of it in his Preface to his Sermons, as if it tended too much to raise a jealousy of Episcopal Divines; and the same offence is fullier expressed by the Reverend Mr. *Tho. Pierce* in his *Rejoynder* to Mr. *Barlee*. But these Reverend persons should have noted, that I purposely protested against any accusation of the Episcopal in general, and as such, or any of them, except the guilty, whom I there in part described, which was fitter then the nomination which Mr. *Pierce* would have. And by name I profess my very great reverence to Dr. *Sanderson* and such as he.

But Mr. *Pierce* wonders how I was betrayed to speak so severely of so excellent a person as *Grotius*, unless by taking things on trust; and therefore he makes it part of the Title of his Book, to be [*A Vindication of Grotius from Mr. Baxter.*] I took him to be a *Cassandrian* Papist; and Mr. *Pierce* and many more among us that vindicate him

him do take this to be an injurious imputation. I am here in a great strait ! For now if I prove *Grotius* a Papist, I fear much lest I shall offend his Learned followers and vindicators, as if withal I proved them also to be Papists ; which is none of my design ; nor would I so be understood unless they follow him in the very points that I charge him with. And if I say nothing, I shall be unjust to my self to my self, in lying under the injurious charge of being a false accuser of so great a man But Truth is Truth ; and I hope will do less harm then silence , when I have so loud a call to speak. Forbearing therefore the search of Mr. *Pierces* words concerning me, because I would not trouble my self, or him, or the Reader with unnecessary altercations, I shall only give him a plain account of my Reasons for such thoughts and words of *Grotius* (and consequently of all that are therein of his mind,) as he takes offence at ; and let him see that I use not to charge men so deeply upon the trust of any accusers words.

And here 1. I shall tell him how far it is that I blame *Grotius* and dislike his design, and how far I approve it, and honor the man. 2. And then when I have

opened the reasons of my offence, I shall produce my evidence to prove that *Grotius* was a Papist as far and as deeply guilty as I charged him to be.

SECT. II.

§. 2. **A**ND for the first, I shall speak of his person and worth in other respects, and then of this design in special. 1. I do indeed take *Grotius* for so Learned and Judicious a man, that Mr. *Pierce* might boldly conjecture as he doth, that I judge not my self worthy in any such respect to be named with him: A small measure of humility may make me serious in this Profession. But I cannot be of every mans opinion in all things, that is more Learned then my self, unless I will hold a hundred contradictions. Yea I must in Gratitude Profess, that I have learnt more from *Grotius*, then from almost any Writer in those subjects, that ever I read: (I speak not of Practical Divinity, which my soul doth live upon, and is the happiest part of my learning:) Especially his Books *de satisfactione Christi, de veritate Religionis Christiana, de Imperio sum-*
mar.

mar. Potestat. circa sacra. de Jure Belli & Pacis, and his *Annotations on the four Evangelists*. For the blemishes commonly reported of his life, in some points, I ever stopt my ears against the accusation, suspending my censures of him, as being in a matter that less concerned me to take knowledge of, so that if I might be partial for any man, it were very likely to be for *Grotius*.

SECT. III.

AND 2. For his Pacificatory design, §. 3.
in General I take it to be one of the most Christian, noble, blessed works, that any man can be employed in, to heal (if it be possible) the Divisions of the Churches, that laying by our passions, and uncharitableness and contentions, we might Lovingly and Peaceably serve the Lord, and walk together in the fellowship of the Gospel to everlasting life. O that the souls of all the Pastors and People of Christs Church, were sensible of the sinfulness and hurt of our Divisions, and were as zealous for the Unity and Peace of Christians, as they are for duties of a lower nature, and as de-

D 3 sious

6. *The Grotian Religion discovered.*

siours of the healing of our sad distractions, as they are for many a lesser Mercy: O that they would follow God as hard in their Prayers, and men in their solicitations, for the return of Charity, and the Recovery of Peace, as they would pray or strive for their Estates or Lives or the saving of their souls. For my own part, I am a person of so little worth or interest, that I cannot in reason expect that my endeavours, in such a work should have any considerable success: But yet, though I saw not a man in the world that would regard it, or return me any better thanks than a reproach, I am resolved, if God vouchsafe me opportunity and assistance, to speak for Peace, while I have a tongue to speak, and to write for Peace, while I have a hand to write, and to live to the Churches Peace, while I have an hour to live, and am able to do any thing that may promote it.

It is not therefore the Pacificatory desires or designs of *Grotius* or any other that I distaste. Could I find such a heart within me, I would cast it in the dust, and condemn it to shame and sorrow and recantation; so much as I love the Churches Unity and Peace less than *Grotius* or you, so much I am a worse man than *Grotius* or you; and so I
freely

freely warrant you to judge of me. But were it meet for me to play the fool and glory, I know no inward affection of my soul that I can more confidently and assuredly boast of, and say, I feel it reign within me, then an uncessant burning desire after the Reformation and Concord of the Churches. Nor will I for fear of the censures of any man, that will call me Pharisee or Proud, conceal that work of God upon my soul, the mentioning whereof may tend to excite the like in others. As the Hallowing of Gods Name and the Coming of his Kingdom, and the doing his will throughout the Earth in conformity to Heaven, is prescribed us as the matter of our first requests, so must I needs say that when I let my prayers loose to follow the bent and inclination of my soul, they begin in a compassionate deploring of the condition of the Nations of Heathens, Mahometans and other Infidels that are strangers to Christ, and thence they proceed to a Commemoration of the state of the Church universal, before they come home to this clod of earth on which we tread: If then you say that I blame you or *Grotius* for seeking Peace or common Good, I take it as if you said, that I blame you for being Christians, if not for being

men, and that I would have you turn the enemies of the Church and all mankind. The Lord knows the most honourable employment in this world in my eyes is the Conversion of the Unbelieving Nations; and the next to it is the Healing of the Polluted and Divided Churches. No man on earth is honoured in my thoughts for his works sake more then Mr. *Eliots* in *New England*, the Apostle to those *Americans*, with his Helpers; and truly next him I have very Honourable and Grateful thoughts of the Labours of the *Jesuites* and *Fryers* for the *Japenians*, *Brasilians*, *Chinenses* and other Infidel Nations; so that my heart riseth against their sopperies and Papal interest that by interposing marrreth so good a work; and against either *Hollanders* or any others that have hindered them in it; and I could wish that the world had a thousand *Jesuites* for one, on condition they were imployed in no other work. And next to these, there is none so grateful to my thoughts as the Reformers and Peacemakers. Oh how delightful is it to me to read Bishop *Halls Peace-maker* & his *Pax terris*; and *Davenants*, *Mortons*, and his *Pacificatory Tracts*; and to read such Tractates as *Calixtus*, *Crocins*, *Joh. Bergins*, *Conrad. Bergins*

Bergius, Hottonus, Morinus, Amyraldus, Hayn, yea and Acomins too, with many the like, that have written for Pacification. The *Irenicon* of *Junius*, of *Paraus*, of *Jer. Burroughs* and others, are delicious recreations to me, when I have leisure to review them. *Melancthon's* peaceable Spirit and writings, are acceptable to me as well as to *Grotius*. But his own words and *Pezelius* have satisfied me, that *Melancthon* and *Grotius* were not of a mind, in many a weighty point of doctrine, for all his constant glorying in *Melancthon*: Much less were *Junius* and he of a mind.

SECT. IV.

MOREOVER, I must say, that though §. 4.
I dissent much from *Grotius* his way of Pacification; yet are not my thoughts of *Grotius*, *Cassander*, *Erasmus*, *Modrevius*, *Wicelius* or others of that strain, no nor of *Thuanus*, and many more moderate Papists, either bitter, censorious or uncharitable; nor did I ever damn them in my censures, or reckon them with the *Spanish, Italian*, violent, bloody, persecuting sort. When I read the writings,

tings of *Cassander*, *Thaulerus*, *Ferus* and others of *Germany*, I think they are now blessed souls with Christ. And when I read the writings of *Espensens*, *Albaspinans*, and many other moderate French men, especially those of the Nobility who are most impartial, I cannot but read them with a great deal of Love and Honour to the Writers. The French Moderation is acceptable to all good men : That Nation is an honourable

* Its great blemish, is, the streams of blood that have been spilt by Massacres.

part of the Church of Christ in my esteem *. Much more must I Honour the pacificatory endeavours of any that attempt the Healing of the

Church; So that thus far *Grotius* and *Cassander* and their followers are deservedly esteemed by us. And if I knew never so many *Grotian* or *Cassandrian* Papists in *England*, though I would not be one of them, nor have others misled by them, yet would I love them, and much prefer them before the more violent sort of Papists.

SECT.

SECT. V.

THE things then that I disallow in §. 5.
Grotius his design and doctrines, are these. 1. That *he was not truly Catholick in those designs and doctrines.* So far am I from condemning him for extending his charity & Healing attempts as far as to the Papists, that my greatest dislike is that he extended them no further. He begun his Pacificatory attempts with the Protestants only, for the uniting of the *Arminians* and *Calvinists* (see his notable *Oration in Senatu Amstelodamensi.*) Afterwards he thought this too narrow a design, and unanswerable to his later principles, and so turning Papist, imagined that *Rome* must be the Head of the Unity, or else it could not be expected. But by this means he dropt into a deplorable Schism, excluding all the *Affrican, Asian* and *European* Churches that cannot submit to the Roman Head, and to many of those Doctrines which *Grotius* now at last doth patronize. Saith Bishop *Bromhal* to *Mileterius* (p. 51.) *If you seek to obtrude upon him the Roman Church with its adherents for the Catholick Church, excluding three parts of four of the Christian world from the Communion of Christ*

Christ, or the opinions thereof for Articles and Fundamentals of Catholick Faith, neither his Reason, nor his Religion, nor his Charity will suffer him to listen to you.] Was this Catholicism, to set up a Head or Center of Union, with other termes of Union and Peace which three parts of four of the (already) Catholick Church do dissent from? What may be called Schism if this be a Catholick design? This is my first dislike.

SECT. VI.

§. 6. **A**Nother thing that I dislike in *Grotius* is, *that it would make the unity and Peace of the Church seem impossible and our divisions desperate, by calling us all to Impossible terms of unity as the only terms.* And then as this will engage men in a great deal of zealous toyl for nothing, and draw them that are of Healing dispositions, to mislead desires and prayers, and to lose all their labour; so it will entice others that come after them, to think that Unity is impossible, because such great attempts were frustrate (which might have been blessed with much more success, had they been better guided, and gone upon truly Catholick terms.)

terms.) He that saw so much of the Catholick Church (three parts of four saith Bishop *Bramhal*) to stand so long at such a distance from the Roman Principles which *Grotius* propoundeth as the Healing terms, and that sees what endeavours of the *Jesuites* and *Fryars*, in *Æthiopia*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Thracia*, *Russia*, and almost all over the Christian world, have been frustrated already, me thinks should never have taken it for a thing Probable, (if possible) that this must be the Healing way. Its an uncomfortable Physician that tels the Patient that there is no hope of his cure but by those same means that have been long used by the skillfullest men without success; But he is much more an uncomfortable Physician that tells his Patient that he must fetch a medicine from the Moon, or the Antipodes or have the brains of a *Phœnix*, before he can be cured. The terms that *Grotius* propoundeth for our Unity and Peace are as impossible. For the Catholick Church throughout all the world to be united in one visible Head and Governour, and to own the Doctrines that *Grotius* must have them own, even the *Tridentine Creed* and Council with the rest of that nature, is a thing that cannot be. For, 1. The plain commands

commands of God are against it. 2. The workings of Gods Spirit in the soul are against it. The Catholick Church is Holy ; He that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his. This Spirit will not suffer the Church to be guilty of those Practices that *Grotius* propounds as the way to peace. Though it may permit some to fall so far, it will not do so by all ; nor let the Catholick Church be cemented by such error and corruption. 3. And the Society that *Grotius* would incorporate us in, is not One in it self but many, under the name of one : For many Heads have many Bodies : And how can we Center with them in a Head that is yet unknown ? Or how can that be a Means of our Unity, that will not procure their own ? Saith Bishop *Bromhall* to *Mileterius* (p. 169.) [You tell us moreover that this Church is the Roman Church : That is not true : but suppose it were most true, as it is most false : What should a man be better or nearer to the knowledge of the Truth, and consequently to his salvation for his submission to the Roman Church ? As long as you cannot agree among your selves, either what this Roman Church is, or what your Infallible Judge is ? One saith, it is the Pope alone ; Another saith, No :

No: but the Pope with his Conclave of Cardinals; A third will go no less then the Pope and a Provincial Council. A fourth will not be contented without the Pope and a General Council. A fifth is for a General Council alone, either with or without the Pope. A sixth party (and they are of no small esteem among you here at this present) is for the Essential Church, that is, the company of all faithful people, whose reception, say they, makes the true ratification of the Acts of its representative body: It were as good have no Infallible Judge, as not to know or agree who it is.]

SECT. VII.

THE third cause of my dislike of Grotius's way, (or design in respect to the terms of Concord) is, because it is Uncharitable and Censorious, cutting off from the Catholick United Society, the Reformed Churches that yield not to his terms, and will not be Reconciled to the Pope of Rome. And thus under pretence of Healing he woundeth; and in the name of a Peace-maker, he Divideth, and cuts off (if I may speak my own judgement of men) the Holyest parts of

§. 7.

of the Church on earth, and those that are so dear to Christ, that he will never give thanks to them that thus reproach them or seek to cast them out. As you reproach those throughout your Book by the name of Puritans that differ from you (a people much dearer to God then to Mr. *Pierce*) so doth *Grotius* make the name of the *Reformed* or Protestants a note of reproach to those that will not be reconciled to the Pope.

SECT. VIII.

§. 8. **A** Fourth reason of my dislike of the way of his design, is, because *it is a trap to tempt and engage the souls of millions into the same uncharitable, censorious and reproachful way, which he thus entered into himself.* When a false Center of the Churches Unity is set up, and impossible or unlawful terms of Concord are thus pretended to be the only terms, it will easily follow that they that believe this, will uncharitably censure all that close not with them on these terms, for Schismatics or Hereticks: and in their writings and speeches will thus reproach them. And how great

great a wrong it is to the Church of God, thus to tempt and engage so great a number in a constant practice of so great a sin, me thinks all tender consciences should easily discern.

SECT. IX.

A Fifth reason that moves me to dislike this design, is, that *it tendeth to engage the Princes of Christendom in a persecution of their subjects, that cannot comply with these unwarrantable terms.* And that its likely to be no small number, nor the worser part; but the soundest, and wisest, and holiest men. For if once Princes be set on this kind of Pacification, and are perswaded that these are the only terms, and so that the dissenters are factious, Schismatical or unpeaceable men; no wonder if they silence the Ministers, and leave their flocks in lamentation, and persecute the people, and think all this while that they do God service, and are but suppressing a company of turbulent rebellious Schismatics, and are mercifully promoting the peace of the Church: This is the unhappy issue of the attempts of Pride; when men have such

E

§. 9.
high

high thoughts of their own imaginations and devices, that they think the Churches wounds can be healed by no other plaister but by this of their compounding; and specially when men depart from the Word of God and the simplicity of faith, and the true Center and terms of Unity and Peace, they are involved in the guilt of persecution before they are aware.

SECT. X.

§.10. **A** Sixth reason of my dislike of *Grotius* his Pacification, and all such as his, is, because it engageth the Church of Christ in a way of sin, both in false Doctrine, Discipline and worship, as if these were the most desirable way for the Church. God hath forbidden that Popery, and many of those errors, that *Grotius* would make the way to Peace. And the displeasing of God, is a most unlikely way to the Unity and Peace of Christians; and a way that should not seem desirable to any that are indeed the servants of Christ. That's not a Means that hath no tendency to the End; much less which crosseth and overthroweth the End. What's the end of the Churches Unity

ty and Peace, but the increase of Holiness and the Honour and Pleasing of God, in the salvation and felicity of his Saints. But these mistaken waies do tend to lead men from God, to diminish Holiness, and promote sin, and consequently to hinder mens salvation, and to displease and dishonour God: And is this a desirable way to Peace? The Turks have more Unity and Concord then the Christians; and yet Mahometanism is not desirable. Satan is a friend to Unity and Concord in evil. He would not have his Kingdom divided against it self; For then how shall it stand? It is not therefore every Peace, but that which promoteth the Holiness & Salvation of men, that is desirable. I abhor their disposition that can despise or violate the Churches peace for every petty conceit of their own, which they have called by the name of Truth, or Duty. But for all that, I had rather have a contention that promoteth Holiness and Salvation, then a Peace that doth destroy it. For its no Means with me that destroyeth the End.

SECT. XI.

THis much may suffice to satisfie you of §. 11.
the Reasons of my dissent from such

unhappy Pacifications as *Grotius* did attempt; that you may see also to what ends I dissuaded men from complying with this design: It was no uncharitable dis-affecti-
on to the persons, but an apprehension of the exceeding hurt that the Church was like to receive by it, in such respects as these, that moved me to say what I did against *Grotius* and such as he. I love and honour them much more then violent Papists; but I am satisfied that the Reformed Churches are more amiable Societies then their Pacification would make us. I am zealously desirous of the Healing of the breach between Papists and Protestants: But if *the best of them be as a bryar, and the most upright sharper then a thorny hedge,* (*Mic. 7. 4.*) I would intreate all the sons of Peace, that they will not too hastily condemn us, because we shake not hands with them. *If it be possible as much as in us lyeth, we would live peaceably with all men,* (*Rom. 12. 18.*) But that which God hath forbidden, is Impossible: It lyeth not in us to have Peace and Unity with them that will have none with us, unless we will break with God, and our consciences. Its a dear price to pay for peace with men, if we must buy it with the loss of our Peace with God,
and

and the hazard of our Salvation and Eternal Peace, and the prosperity of the Church and Truth.

SECT. XII.

MAny of the late Episcopal Divines §. 12.
do propound terms of Peace that are much lower (to the Romanists) then the terms of *Grotius* were. And yet though I honour their Peaceable dispositions, I durst not consent to their terms, nor do I think that they will ever prove truly Healing in the end. I mention them to let you know, that it is not all Episcopal Divines that I suspected of a compliance with *Grotius* and *Cassander*; no nor all of the later strain: Which one would have thought might have been believed at the first affirmation. The old sort of Episcopal Divines that received the Publick Doctrine of this Nation, contained in the 39. Articles, the Homilies, &c. I wholly acquitted from my jealousies of this compliance. And I extended it to none of the New Episcopal party, but such as I there described. I will instance in Bishop *Bramhall*, because I suppose that you value his judgement, and I as highly honour

honour his Reason and clearness of discourse, as any mans that I have lately read. I may well hope that many of your present friends do intend no nearer a closure with the Pope then he : And I take him for no Papist, though I dare not follow him. His terms of Peace with *Rome* are these. 1. He will not admit the *Popes Universality of Jurisdiction*, by the Institution of Christ. 2. Nor his superiority above *Oecumenical Councils*. 3. Nor his *Infallibility of Judgement*, pag. 138. (& p. 151. Edit. 2.) 4. But he saith, (fol. ult.) [If you could be contented to waver your last four hundred years determinations, or if you liked them for your selves, yet not to obtrude them upon other Churches ; If you could rest satisfied with your old Patriarchal Power, and your Principium unitatis, or Primacy of Order, much good might be expected from free Councils and conferences from moderate persons ; and we might yet live in hope to see an Union, if not in all opinions, yet in charity, and all necessary points of saving truth between all Christians ; to see the Eastern and Western Churches joyn hand in hand, &c.] And it is a Primacy as of Christs Institution that he would here grant them. For pag. 165. (Edit. 2.) he saith, [Cyprian gave a
Primacy

Primacy or Principality of Order to the chair of Saint Peter, as Principium Unitatis; so do we.] This with his Doctrinal Concessions, and others about worship, are his way of Unity.

SECT. XIII.

I Take not this Learned Bishop for a Papist, though I take *Grotius* for one; §. 13.
 1. Because I find him more disowning a fellowship with that party then *Grotius* did. And every man shall by me, be taken to be what he Professeth to be, and supposed to be of no other way but what he owns, till I have very weighty Reasons to Judge otherwise. 2. Because he gives them no more then some Reconcilable members of the Greek Church would give them; and (except the points after named) seems to be just of the Greek way of Religion. 3. Because he disowns their Council of *Trent*, and last four hundred years determinations. 4. His two knocking Arguments conclude against them, much otherwise then *Grotius* doth; (pag. 196. Edit. 1.) which are these, and worthy the reciting, [*That Church which hath chang-*

ed the Apostolical Creed, the Apostolical Succession, the Apostolical Regiment, and the Apostolical Communion, is no Apostolical, Orthodox, or Catholick Church. But the Church of Rome hath changed the Apostolical Creed the Apostolical Succession, the Apostolical Regiment, and the Apostolical Communion. Therefore the Church of Rome is no Apostolical, Orthodox, or Catholick Church. They have changed the Apostolical Creed, by making a new Creed, wherein are many things inferred, that hold no Analogie with the old Apostles Creed: The Apostolical Succession, by ingrossing the whole Succession to Rome, and making all other Bishops to be but the Popes Vicars and Substitutes, as to their jurisdiction: The Apostolical Regiment, by erecting a Visible Universal Monarchy in the Church: And lastly the Apostolical Communion, by excommunicating three parts of the holy Catholick Apostolick Church. 2. Again, that Church which resolves its faith, not into Divine Revelation and Authority, but into Humane Infallibility, or the Infallibility of the present Church, without knowing or according, what that present Church is, whether the Virtual, or Representative, or the Essential Church, or a Body compounded of some of these, hath no true faith.

faith. But the Church of Rome resolves its faith, not into Divine Revelation and Authority, but, &c. Therefore the Church of Rome hath no true faith.

SECT. XIV.

YET cannot I consent that these should §. 14.
be made the terms of Union that the Bishop here grants. For, 1. If when he excludeth [*Universality of Jurisdiction by Christs Institution*] he intend to grant them (which yet I know not) an Universality of Jurisdiction by humane Institution or Agreement, then it would be but to set up an Humane Popery instead of a pretended Divine : But this I charge not on him as his judgement ; though some will think it intimated. But 2. that *Peter* hath a certain fixed Chair to which a Primacy of Order is annexed, and a Head-ship of Unity, is not a Truth, and therefore not a Principle Necessary to Heal the Church. 3. That the Pope should hold to himself and his Church his [*last four hundred years determinations*] and so continue such as the Bishop here concludes to be [*no Apostolical, Orthodox, Catholick Church, nor to have*
true

true Faith] is an unlikely thing to stand with the Unity and Concord that he mentioneth : We shall cement but sorrily with such a Body as this. 4. That the Pope should hold his Patriarchal Power, is a meer Innovation and humane Institution, as is his Primacy of Order, and such Priviledges (the Council of *Calcedon* averr's it.) And therefore it is no necessary thing to be conceded for the Churches Peace. 5. Multitudes that live in the Western Nations of the world, will still dissent both from the Popes Patriarchal Power, and more from his way of exercising it : and so will be forced to fall under the reproach of Schismatics by these terms : and that for obeying the Laws of Christ. If the Pope as Patriarck of the West, should impose upon us only, (and not on the East) the Doctrines, and Worship, and Ceremonies which he now imposeth on the Papists, (excepting the excepted before) doth any man of reason think that the Reformed Churches would ever yield to them, or ought to do it ? We will Unite on Christs terms, and that will be a sure and more General Union ; and not on such humane devices as these. Let those that made the Pope our Patriarck, maintaine his Power : For Christ did not. 6. Many
thing

things in Doctrine and Worship which on these terms would be imposed both on East and West, and prevail in most of the Churches at this day, are sins against God ; and therefore how small soever they may be, are not to be consented to for Unity.

7. The Ethiopian and other Churches that were still without the verge of the Roman Empire, will never acknowledge this much to the Pope ; seeing that even those humane Constitutions that gave him his Primacy of Order , determined of no more then the Roman world , and had nothing to do beyond *Euphrates* ; nor did the Popes lay any claim , or meddle any further. And abundance among the Eastern Churches also will deny this Primacy. 8. There is no hope of Uniting the Churches on any terms but what are Necessary and Divine : For its vain to expect that things humane and unnecessary should be consented to by all : Much less things sinful. 9. There is no Union to be had but upon the terms on which the Churches have sometimes united. For a new way of union is not to be expected , or attempted. But never was the Church united on such Concessions as these ; and therefore never will be. 10. It would be an exceeding dishonour to God ,
and

and injury to the souls of many millions of men, if but under the Popes Patriarchal Jurisdiction in the West, the Papists way of worship were set up, and their Government exercised as now. The good will of *Rome*, or the name of Peace would not recompence the loss of so many thousand souls as some one of the Papal abuses might procure : For instance, their driving the people from the Scriptures and other means of knowledge. Besides most of the evils that I before charged on the *Grotian* way, (as Censures, Persecutions, &c.) would follow upon this.

Yet this I shall yield, that if the Papists will Reform what the Bishop requires them to Reform, it will undoubtedly make way for nearer Concord, and make them capable of our more charitable thoughts. But if it be expected also that we yield to them as much as the Bishop yields them, and these be made the terms of Peace or Concord, I dare say that the Churches will never have a general, or safe, or durable Peace or Concord on those terms.

SECT.

SECT. XV.

BUT though I am thus confident that §. 15.
neither the terms of *Grotius*, *Cassander*, or this Bishop, will serve for a Catholic Agreement; yet I desire not to make the work seem utterly Hopeless, or take off any mans just endeavours for a general Peace: Nor shall I leave the business thus, and content my self to shew the impossibility of other mens terms, lest while I pull down all, and offer nothing in the stead, I be thought to be but an enemy to Peace, while I pretend to love it. In general therefore I say, that the terms of an Universal Concord or Peace, must be Purely Divine, and not Humane; Necessary, and not things unnecessary; Antient, according to the Primitive simplicity, and neither New, nor yet too Numerous, Curious or abstruse. Particularly, *Chillingworth* hath already told the world the way of Unity. And I have cast in somewhat of my thoughts in another Disputation of this subject, and more in a Treatise against Popery called, *A Key for Catholicks*, (not yet Printed, but finished, and going to the Press.)

SECT.

SECT. XVI.

§. 16. **I** Have now told you how far I dissent from *Grotius*, and on what accounts, and how far I approve Pacificatory attempts, between us and the Papists, that you may not misinterpret me any more. And now I come to the matter that you call me to, which is to prove that *Grotius* was a Papist of that strain as I supposed him to be. And I think he would have taken it as an injury from you or me, if while he had lived we had denied it.

And here it is supposed that you and I are so far agreed what a Papist is, as is necessary to our prosecution of this question. For 1. you'll grant me I doubt not, that the French Church are Papists, though much more moderate then the *Italians*, and though they deny the Popes superiority over a Council, and so his Infallibility alone. 2. You do grant me (pag. 93, 94.) that *Thuanus* and *Cassander* were Papists, and the Emperours *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* (as I understand you) And this much shall suffice us at this time. I would *Grotius* had gone no further then *Maximilian*. His mind was to have had the Scripture

ture taken for the only Rule of faith, and to have adjoyned for Church Government that frame of Policy that *Grotius* was for. But many of *Grotius* doctrines are not in the Scripture, but against it, and fetcht from pretended Tradition.

SECT. XVII.

IF *Cassander* was a Papist, then he that §.17.
owns the Doctrine of *Cassander*, and his way of Discipline and Worship, is so too: But so did *Grotius*. For 1. He Published his Consultations as the very way to the Churches Peace, professing himself in many writings to own them, and desire their Reception, and making it the very design and business of many writings and of his life. 2. He calls them [*Cassandri Veracia scripta*] in his Poem before his *via ad Pacem*. 3. In his Annotations, he approveth of that which you can call Popery in *Cassander*, but seems to be more favourable to the Papal cause in many points then *Cassander* was. Read but *Cassander* of Images (for instance) and *Grotius* in his *Annot. his Vol. & Discuss.* and see which of them was neerer, or more favourable to the Papists. If then *Cassander*

sander be a Papist, and *Grotius* professedly of the judgement of *Cassander*, then *Grotius* was a Papist. The same I may say of *Erasmus* (whom *Thomas White* and many more Papists vindicate, as formerly one of theirs) and *Modrevius*, and many more whom *Grotius* owneth and adheres to.

SECT. XVIII.

§.18. **H**E that owneth the *Tridentine Creed* is a Papist. But so did *Grotius*: For he first printed it in his *Via ad Pacem*, as that which should be received for the Churches Peace, or which the *Augustan* Confession must be reconciled to; professing to hold them reconcileable with the expositions and Correctives that *Cassander* & he have given of this Confession: Not offering the least Corrective for the Trent Creed in order to the Reconciliation. Yea he purposely in divers writings maintaineth the Agreement of them (thus far) and vindicateth the *Trent Creed*, and the doctrines of it.

SECT.

SECT. XIX.

HE that is for the *Trent* Council, and §. 19.
all that is determined by it or any
other General Council which the Papists
own, professing the Agreement of his Te-
nants therewith, is a Papist: But such was
Grotius, as appeareth through his *Discussio*
Apologet. Rivet his *Volum*, &c. I shall pro-
duce some of the particular words anon.

SECT. XX.

HE that purposeth & professedly through §. 20.
his Books doth call the Papists by the
name of the Catholicks, and defend them,
and join himself to them as one of them, in
opposition to the Protestants, whom he men-
tions with distaste, as pretended Reformers,
and disowneth them that are not reconciled
to the Papists, is himself a Papist. But
so doth *Grotius*, as is visible throughout his
Discussio Apol. Rivet. still joining himself
with the Catholicks, that is, the Papists, in
opposition to Reformation it self and to
the Protestant Churches and Doctrines.
Yea Professing himself openly a Papist. I
F mean

mean not in the name of [*Papist*] for so few of the Papists themselves will do, because they like not the name: But that he owned the Thing, I shall now prove from his words.

SECT. XXI.

§. 21. **I**N his *Discuss. Apologet. Rivietiani* p. 255. He saith as followeth [*Restitutionem Christianorum in unum idemq; corpus semper optatam à Grotio, sciunt qui eum norunt; existimavit autem aliquando etiam postquam innotuerat Illustrissimo D. Vairio, incipi posse à Protestantium inter se conjunctione. Postea vidit, id plane fieri nequire; quia præterquam quod Calvinistarum ingenia ferme omnium ab omni pace sunt alienissima, Protestantes nullo inter se communi Ecclesiastico regimine sociantur, quæ Causæ sunt cur factæ partes in unum Protestantium corpus colligi nequeant: immo & cur partes aliæ atq; aliæ sint exurrectura. Quare nunc plane ita sentit Grotius, & multi cum ipso, non posse Protestantes inter se jungi, nisi simul jungantur cum iis qui sedi Romanæ coherent; sine qua nullum sperari potest in Ecclesia commune Regimen. Ideo optat, ut ea divisio,*

quæ

qua evenit, & causa divulsionis tollantur. Inter eas non est Primatus Episcopi Romani secundum Canones, fatente Melanchthone —]

Here you see that *Grotius* judged that the only way for union was for all Protestants to join with them that adhere to the sea of *Rome*: And then I hope you doubt not whether *Grotius* did that himself which he endeavoured to bring all the Protestants to as necessary to their unity; that is, to join with them that adhere to the Pope. If you say that he mentioneth only the Primacy of the Pope at last, I answer 1. He speaks of that only as *Melanchthons* confession, 2. And he well know knew that the Pope hath not yet given away all save his meer primacy of Order, nor is about to do it, nor is it a thing to be expected: And yet at present *Grotius* would have all to join with *Rome propter commune Regimen*; and that is the Papal Regiment; for there is no other. The rest that followeth shall further explaine this; so that here either *Grotius* calls to us all to become moderate Papists, or else he talks below the rates of a Rational man, about our adhering to the Roman seat.

SECT. XXII.

§.22. **H**ereby we may expound the Beginning of his *Votum pro Pace*, where he tells us his judgement that the Church be one, *non animo tantum, sed & eâ communione quâ conspici potest, & maxime conspicitur in Regiminis vinculo.* — The ground of our common Divisions is, a conceit that the visible Church must be one visible Political Body having a visible Head, whether Pope, Council or whatever it be; which sets men still a tampering to do a thing neither possible nor desireable, no more than an Universal Civil Monarchy or other form of Government. All the world cannot much better be Governed in Ecclesiasticals by one Head than in Civils. And if men will lament the state of the world, and cry out, *Alas, we are distracted and torn in pieces*, till they can get them under one Universal Civil Government, they must permit us to think that the complainers are more distracted than the Church.

So page 7. (*voti*) he saith of *Vincentius* his requisites and notes of true Catholicisms, [*Videbam ea manere in Ecclesia quæ*
Romanæ

Romana convertitur] And his way to Peace pag. 9, is *aut per Papæ eximie boni auctoritatem, aut Concilium universale, &c.*] And p. 10. He professeth that he doth not *novum moliri opus*, but add his helps to *Cassanders* works.

And in his *Dissertatio de summo Pontifice*, p. 310, 311, 312. In answer to the Question p. 309. *Qua sit ratio restituendi sacerdotii Universalis, & cum eo Sacerdotio unitatis, &c.*] He saith [*In Gubernatione observandum; eam specie quadam externa posse esse quasi Monarchiam; reipsa autem talem ut plus de Aristocratiâ trahat.*]

SECT. XXIII.

Hence he saith *Discuss.* page 2. *Quare §. 23.*
Non est Culpandus Duarenus, qui ita Catholicæ pacis amantem se ostendit, &c.
 which *Duarenus* was a moderate Papist, of whom he saith in the antecedent lines,
 [*ita Romana sedis fuit communione, ut acerrimè obstiterit iis quæ nonnulli sive Romæ, sive Genevæ, contra Regum aut Episcoporum jura moluntur.* And p. 18. he saith *Talem pacem quæ Papæ Omnipotentiam tribuat, & in Ecclesiæ & imperii rebus, sicut Casaubonus*

bonus non probavit, ita nec probat Grotius, nec qui in Gallia & alibi sunt sapientes Catholici, qui & falli posse Papas putant, & Auctoritatem eorum certis finibus contineri: sicut in Florentia Synodo decretum est, Papam esse Principem Sacerdotum, & Governatorem Ecclesie secundum Canones Conciliorum universalium, & salvis juribus Patriarcharum Orientis] Here you see 1. That he is of the French Religion, who no doubt are Papists. 2. That he is for the Popes Universal Principality, yea and Government of the Church, though he will have him Govern according to the Canons & not arbitrarily, & not incroach on the rights of the inferior Patriarchs. 3. That he is for the Power given him in the Council of *Florence*, which is commonly supposed to set up the Pope above a General Council; Though its like in that *Grotius* might dissent; yet I think he doubted not but that Council was Papal, for all the compliance of the Greeks there at that season. And 4. Whereas he excludeth the Popes Omnipotency in Civil and Ecclesiastick matters, so do, as he saith, the French and thousands of Papists as well as he, that yet are still Papists.

SECT. XXIV.

TO this purpose *Discufs.* p. 20. he saith §. 24,
 [Tryannis Papa metuenda non est, ubi
Primatum Metropolitanorum, Episcoporumq;
aliorum jura bene servantur, &
ubi Reges in Electionibus Episcoporum pie
utuntur eâ potestate quam Sicilia Reges ha-
bere se dicunt.——] With these limita-
 tions we need not fear, he thinks,
 the Tyranny of the Pope. And so say
 thousands of Papists also, that Bishops
 Rights should be preserved. If all be ex-
 cluded from the number of Papists that are
 of this mind, the Kingdom of the Pope
 is smaller then they will believe, or willing-
 ly hear of, especially in France.

SECT. XXV.

Hereupon in the next sentence head- §. 25.
 deth, *Spondit autem pridem pro Papa*
Cardinalis Perronius Jacobo Magnæ Brit-
tania Regi, si cum sede Romana concordiam
veller, nihil ipsi de jure Regio periturnum]
 so that if Perron was no Papist, then Gro-
 tius that would have a Pope with the same
 limitation

limitation is no Papist neither : And if *Perren* was none, its a doubt whether there be any such thing at all as a Papist of the French.

SECT. XXVI.

§.26. **D** *Isacus*. p. 27, 28. he comes to the point of Unity, and saith, [*Quæ ergo via exeundi ex tot scissuris, inter quas cum magno periculo fluctuant populorum animæ? An ea quam D. Rivetus indicat, ut Scripturas sequamur solas? At eas, & quidem solas, sequi se clamat Menno, Socinus, Brunus, & alii — Parendum ergo est Traditioni, dummodo bene probetur, id est quantum æquo homini satis esse debet — Ea autem de qua loquor Traditio, colligi quidem potest ex veterum Scriptorum Consensu, sed optime tutissimeq; colligitur in Concilio universali, ubi tot sunt viri Eruditi ut nullus sit liber ignoratus omnibus: — Consensus autem istius qui in veterum Scriptis, maximeq; in conciliis universalibus apparet, Custodes quidem sunt Episcopi omnes, sed Authoritatis ad veritatem, unitatemq; retinendam præcipue Romanus Episcopus, quem Ecclesiæ aliæ, ad vitanda ex rebus dubiis*

biis Schismata, consulere, ex quo Apostoli in terris vivere desierunt, sunt solita. Et hinc est quod Ecclesia Romana ab antiquis dicitur aliarum Ecclesiarum Magistra.

— *Corrumpi quidem Mores Roma & alibi passus est Deus: at Doctrina, illis ipsis malis moribus contraria, Deo ita res dirigente, corrupta non est.*] Here you see, 1. That the Scripture alone is taken as utterly insufficient to unite in (and then we shall never have Union by all the Devices in the world) but Tradition must be the sufficient means: We are for Tradition as well as *Grotius*; but its only in subserviency to the Scripture which is sufficient in its kind, and affordeth us matter enough for our agreement, and needeth not Tradition as a supply to its defects for the Matter of our Faith or necessary Concord. 2. You see also that Fathers and Councils are the Collectors of these Traditions. 3. And the present Bishops the Keepers of the Dicisions of these Councils. 4. And the Pope of chief Authority for the preservation of Truth and Unity; so that here is such Authority as is more then Primacy of Order. 5. And that the Chruches since the Apostles dayes have consulted with it, for
avoiding

avoiding Schism about doubtful things, which having reference to the said Priority and Authority, is false. 6. And that therefore it is called [*The Mistress of other Churches*] which also, relating to the Authority mentioned, is false. 7. And that God hath kept this Roman Church from corruption in Doctrine, which is very false. Though he here and oft grant them to be corrupted in manners; (and yet they would be known to be the true Church by their Holiness) If this be not Popery, surely it is the name, and not the thing that we differ about. If Mr. *Pierce* and the other Patrons of *Grotius* will tell that they hold all these things themselves that *Grotius* held, and yet are no Papists, we shall the better know how to understand them hereafter. And yet I am thankful to God, that Popery is so dishonourable a thing among us, that the name is so much disowned as it is: For till men dare openly own the name, they will miss of many advantages to propagate it (though others I confess in secret they may have) we have hitherto taken this for Popery.

SECT. XXVII.

SO *Discuss.* p. 62, 63. [*Pauli locus* §. 27.
Eph. 4 ostendit Concordiam egere ordine,
ordinem gradibus—— Nam cum longe
lateque disjecti essent Apostoli ad spargendum
semen Evangelii, siquid incidisset dubii, ut
de Apostolatu Pauli, quo iri potuit nisi ad
Petrum?] Peter then must be Judge of
Pauls Apostleship? Or they had none but
Peter to go to for resolution of such doubts?
When Paul was not an Apostle by the will
of man, but of God, nor craved or needed
the Testimony of Peter, but by signs and
wonders, and mighty deeds, the works of
an Apostle, and not by the Approbation of
Peter, did prove himself to be an Apostle.
But how false is all this, and how contrary
to Scripture? Why might they not go to
James, or John, as well as Peter? Where
do we find that he had any more Authority
in advising then the rest? He addeth,
[*Sine tali Primatu exiri è controversiis non*
poterat: sicut hodie apud Protestantes nulla
est ratio qua ortarum inter ipsos controversia-
rum reperiatur finis. Et hic Primatus post
Apostolos mansit in Romana sede.] So that
it is a Primacy with Divine Authority, ne-
cessary

cessary to decide controversies, that *Grotius* said belongeth to the Pope. And for want of this, there is no ending of the Protestants Controversies. And yet this man is either a Protestant, or no Papist with Mr. *Pierce*. He adds, [*Cypriani locus antehac à Grotio productus, legi tantum opus habet ut appareat ab eo, agnoscere Petri Primatum cum Autoritate.*] 1. So that its still a Primacy with Authority. 2. *Cyprian de Unitate*, is basely corrupted by the Papists. Blot out but the corrupt additions (according to *Jerom*, *Stephens* Edition out of the *Oxford* Manuscripts) and leave out but his spurious Epistles (mentioned also out of those *M.S.S.* by Mr. *Stephens*) and then the Papists will have small cause to boast of *Cyprian*. He addeth, [*Non male Gelasius* — approving his saying of *Peters* Principality. And I think by this much more its easie to understand *Grotius*.

SECT. XXVIII.

§.28. **S**O pag. 66. *Discuss.* he saith, [*Inter sedes autem illas eminentissimas, ut Primus locus, ita & Autoritas prima fuit sedes Romane. Et hoc esse quod potentiores principalitatem*

cipalitatem dixit Irenæus, satis apparebit ei qui nullo partium studio infectus eum legerit —] Still here is a Primacy of Authority : And *Irenæus* unworthily abused. I dare say I have *sine partium studio* , with an unfeigned willingness to know the truth , perused that place of *Irenæus* long ago , upon the boasts of *Bellarmino* concerning it. And it seems most plain to me that its the secular Principality occasioning a Concourse to that place that *Irenæus* speaks of. And if it were not so, yet is it much more likely that it is an Ecclesiastick Principality, *ex nobilitate Materie* , because the Greatness of that City occasioned the gathering of a more numerous famous Church where Apostolical persons were still at hand , and opportunities were greater to preserve Church History, then that it should be any Instituted Principality of office or seat ? Nor do *Grotius* his Arguments do any thing to Prove this Roman Principality which he pleads for.

SECT.

SECT. XXIX.

§.29. **H**E descants thus on *Irenæus* words, [*Vides agi de Principalitate qua ad Custodiam Traditionis pertinet : eam vero dicit Potentiorē, id est, summæ authoritatis.*] Here *Grotius* tells us, it is *Potentior Principalitas, id est, summa Authoritas*, that he pleads for : So that his meaning is plain. But to his Comment on *Irenæus* it needs but a denial, having no proof ; We grant that it is *Principalitas qua ad traditionis custodiam pertinet*, and yet deny it to be *summæ authoritatis*, or of any instituted formal Authority. The Roman Emperours Authority drawing a Concurse to that City, tended to the Preservation of Tradition. The Churches Eminency on that occasion, *ex nobilitate materie*, may be all that he means by the *Potentior Principalitas*, if it had been spoken as an attribute of the Church : But this is no proof of an Authority, and chief Authority of that Church over the rest of the Churches.

SECT.

SECT. XXX.

§.30.
D *Issuff.* pag. 67. he applauds and comments on the words of certain Antients thus, [*Hinc est quod apud Ambrosium convenire cum Episcopis Catholicis, exponitur, id est cum Ecclesia Romana: Et par ei atate scriptor in Epistolam primam ad Timotheum, Ecclesiam quæ est domus Dei, sic denotat, Cujus hodie rector est Damasus; Cui Damaso scribens Hieronymus, Qui tecum non colligit, ait, spargit: Idem adv. Ruffinum, [Fidem suam quam vocant? Eamne qua Romana pollet Ecclesia? Si Romanam respondent, ergo Catholici sumus. Sozomenus. 3. 7. Episcopus Romanus, ideo quod omnium cura ad ipsum pertineret, ob throni dignitatem unicuique Ecclesiam suam reddidit.] Unicuique, id est; Alexandrino, Constantinopolitano, & Ancyrano. Roman. Concil. in Epist. ad Imperat. [Damasus quibus æqualis est munere, prærogativâ tamen Apostolica sedis excellit.] Concil. Aquil. in Epist. ad Gratian. Imper. Romanam Ecclesiam vocat totius orbis Romani caput, unde in omnes venerande Communionis jura dimanant. Valentianus 3. Imperator [Romana sedis Episcopus, Cui Principatum Sacerdotii*

cerdotii super omnes Antiquitas contulit.] You see here what it is that *Grotius* pleads for : that *Romanism* and *Catholicism* should be convertible : That the Pope was Ruler of the whole Church; that all that gather not with him, do scatter : that the care of all belongs to the Pope : and that by reason of the dignity of his Throne, he had power to restore even the great Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Constantinople* : That he is the Head of the whole Roman world; and Laws flow from him to the rest; that the Pope hath the *Principatus sacerdotii* over all : Me thinks he speaks as plain as you can desire. But as to his Authorities here cited, 1. I desire the Reader to observe, that they are over and over by Protestants proved to be part of them forgeries, and part of them nothing to the business. I should digress from my intended course, if I should stand to confute all that he saith as I go. I have said enough to them in another writing before mentioned (*A Key for Catholics.*) And among others you may see almost all these and many more sufficiently answered by *Jacobus Cappellus*, against *Bulinger*. 2. And note here a remarkable passage that truly tells you the height of the Roman claim and ambition till of late :
that

that it was but *orbis Romani caput*, that his greatest friends and flatterers called him. And when ever they called him the head or chief of all Bishops, or Churches, &c. they still spoak, in the Roman Dialect. For he had never any thing to do with *Ethiopia* and other Churches where the Roman Emperour had nothing to do. So that I will not lay my censurè on others; but sure I should be blind my self if I should not see that the Papal power was the effect of the Emperours Greatness, and Pleasure, and Beneficence; who thought it most for the Unity and Honour of the Churches in their Dominions to be thus Headed by the Bishop of the Imperial seat. If any man will needs take it for an Infallible consequence, that *Bancroft* or *Land* were chief Bishops of all the world, because they were the chief in *England*, I will not much dispute against them. But I am sure when *all the world was taxed by Augustus Cesar*, (*Luk. 2. 1.*) there was many a man on earth that heard nothing of the business. The Roman world was but a little world & the Roman Catholick Church is too little a Church for me to own, as such, or to joyn with. But let us go with *Grotius* and see whether we wrong him.

SECT. XXXI.

§. 31. **D**iscuss. pag. 69. he praiseth King James for saying, [*Si Romanus Pontifex probet, non suam se, verum Dei immortalis gloriam querere, & populorum pacem, concordiam ac salutem sibi curæ esse, se sine cunctatione primas ei delaturum, dicturumq; non invitum, à Pontifice totam Ecclesiam curari.*] And he adds, [*Neque vero Cardinalis Perronius aliud à Rege illo exigebat, quam ut Papa tribueret illas Primas, id est, precedentis dignitatis prerogativam in omnibus negotiis ad Religionem aut Ecclesiam spectantibus.*] Though he mis-interpret King James his [*Primas*] yet he is easie to be understood himself, that if Perron were a Papist, and would have drawn King James to be a Papist, then Grotius was for Popery: Otherwise not: And when I call him a Papist, I mean it no otherwise than as Perron was a Papist.

In the next words he cites Bucer, (I know not where, and therefore cannot vindicate him) saying [*per Protestantess possunt Pontificem Romanum & ceteros Episcopos omnes suam potestatem retinere: tantum suâ potestate utantur in adificationem Ecclesie.*

But *Bucer* took not that to be their power which *Grotius* did.

SECT. XXXII.

[*Bid. p. 69.* he adds a twofold use of the Papal Primacy : the first is, [*In tutandis illis qui per inimicorum coitiones opprimebantur :*] the other, [*In præveniendis aut sanandis scissuris.*] This shews that he would have in the Pope some Governing power over all the Christian world ; or else he cannot by his Primacy have power to right and help the oppressed, and end divisions. And how well he doth either of these, I have shewed elsewhere. §. 32.

SECT. XXXIII.

PAG. 70. [*Oggeritur etiam alos Episcopos non malam ad as res operam posuisse*] And he answereth, [*Posuerunt sane, sed non sine Episcopo Romano, cui semper primas in hac re partes detulerunt.*] Though this be false ; yea so false that they have done it contra *Episcopum Romanum*, yet it shews still the meaning of *Grotius* ; who it seems §. 33.

would not have Schisms ended, and the oppressed righted without the Pope of Rome; Let him put it into his motion that no sick man shall be cured without him, and then put it to the vote.

SECT. XXXIV.

§. 34. **P**Ag. 71. He cites as approving it, the French esteem, that take none for a General Council that is not confirmed by all or most of the Patriarchal seats: and yet admit not promiscuously a custom of appealing from the Pope to a future General Council, lest bad men win time, &c. By which it appears that he would have the Pope to Govern in the Intervals of Councils.

SECT. XXXV.

§. 35. **Y**ET would you have him speak more plainly? *Discuss. p. 95.* [*Quid verò Ecclesia Romana, aliarum Magistra, jam olim senserit, optimè cognoscemus ex Epistoli Episcoporum Romanorum ad Afros & Gallos, quibus Grotius promptissimo animo subscribet.*] In the language of the *Tren*
Creed

Creed, he calls *Rome* the Mistriss of other Churches; and therefore no doubt acknowledgeth more to her then a Primacy of order.

So pag. 245, 246. he again abuseth the place in *Irenæus* for *Romes* Principalitie. But I will say no more of this first point, the Papal Sovereignty, but pass to the next.

SECT. XXXVI.

THat *Grotius* received the Creed, and §. 36.
Canons, and Decrees of the Council of Trent, and all other Papal Councils, I think is evident by what here followeth: Or at least that he received as much of them as will prove him a Papist, if not more then some Papists do.

Discuss. p. 7. Accusat Bullam Pii Quinti quod Articulos habeat extra illos Symboli. At plures habet Synodus Dordrechtana — At novi sunt illi in Bullâ, ut vult D. Rivetus. Contra sentiunt eruditi plurimi, non novos esse si rectè intelligantur, idque apparere ex adscriptis ad marginem canonum Tridentinorum locis tum Sacra Scriptura, tum sanctorum quorum magna semper in Ecclesiis auctoritas fuit. At Grotius non eam Bullam

approbantem qua in Concilio Tridentino fuerant explicata, solam edidit, sed & confessionem Augustanam, existimans commode acceptas doctrinas Tridentinam & Augustanam inter se non ita pugnare, ut multi credere.] Though his [*contra sentiunt plurimi*] and his [*non ita pugnare*] may be pretended to wave a peremptory owning of them himself, yet indeed he plainly signifieth in this with his *via ad pacem*, 1. That he takes not the *Trent* Creed to contain any new Articles. 2. Nor that Creed or Council to be unreconcilable with the *Augustane* Confession, (with his correctives distorting it to the *Tridentine* sense.) And if he be not a Papist that owns the Council and Creed of *Trent*, I know not what a Papist is. By this which *Grotius* owns as the means of Unity, Bishop *Bramball* will prove them to be no Orthodox, or Catholick, or Apostolick Church. I think *Francisc. à Sancta Clara* is a Papist (and so thinks the foresaid Bishop, and so thought the Queen of *England* that chose him to be her Ghostly Father, and so thought *Tho. White*, that dedicates his Book to him :) and yet he hath endeavoured to Reconcile the *English* Articles with the *Tridentine*, even as *Grotius* did by the *Augustane* : not
healing

healing or correcting theirs, but distorting ours, to mean what they would have them mean.

SECT. XXXVII.

YET more plainly, *Discuss.* pag. 14. §. 37.
 [Distinguit Grotius inter dogmata Scholasticorum quæ neminem obligant, (magna enim Schola nostra, inquit Melchior Canus, nobis indulget libertatem) ac proinde non potuere iustam dare recedendi causam : Et inter ea quæ Conciliis sunt definita, etiam Tridentino : Quorum Acta si quis legit animo ad pacem propenso, is inveniet, ea commode, & convenienter, tum Sacrarum Scripturarum, tum veterum Doctorum locis ad marginem positis, posse explicari. Quod si præterea curâ Episcoporum & Regum, tollantur ea quæ cum pia ista Doctrina pugnant, & non conciliorum autoritate, aut veteri traditione, sed malis moribus sunt introducta, habebit jam Grotius, & multi cum ipso, id quo possint esse contenti.] Would you wish a man to speak plainer ? Here are four things that Grotius takes notice of among the Papists. 1. The free opinions of the Schoolmen. 2. The ill manners and
 G 4 customs

customs that are contrary to their own Doctrine. 3. The Doctrine of the Council of *Trent* and the rest of the Councils. 4. Ancient Tradition. The two first he is content that none be bound to. The first he would have free, and the second mended : But the two last he is for, as consonant to Scriptures and Fathers. And is there any Papist, (even the highest *Italians*) that go any further ? Would *Molina* or *Mariana*, or *Vasquez* or *Suarez*, or any Pope, oblige all the Church to all the Articles contained in *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Ockam*, *Durandus*, *Alensis*, *Bonaventure*, and an hundred such like ? Or would they have us all take the Licenced Whore houses at *Rome* or *Bononia* for Articles of our faith, or obligatory examples of our Practice ? You see here that *Grotius* is for the Council of *Trent*, and for all the rest of the Councils : He thinks those agree with Scripture, that can never be agreed among themselves. He is for the Council of *Laterane*, that set the Pope above a Council ; and he is expressly elsewhere, for the Council of *Constance* and *Basil*, that set a Council above the Pope, and damned the contrary Doctrine as Heretical. He is for the Council of *Laterane* that puts it in the Power of the Pope to de-

pose

Pose Princes, and absolve their subjects from their fidelity, and give their Dominions to the Government of others : And yet, he is stiff for the right of Princes. He is for the Council of *Laterane*, *Florence* and *Trent* that are for Transubstantiation, and in a word, for all the rest of Popery : and yet Mr. *Pierce* saith he is no Papist. I confess most words have their ambiguity. This may be no Popery with Mr. *Pierce* : I will not contend with him about the name. Let him call it what he please, and I will call it Popery. You see here that *Grotius* and his followers will be *Content* without any more ado, if Bishops and Princes will but take away those things that ill manners have introduced, contrary to the pious Doctrine of the Papists, without antient Tradition or Authority of Councils; let all the rest that this Tradition and Councils have introduced or determined of, continue, and spare not. Beshrew *Bellarmino*, or *Baronius*, or *Stapleton*, or *Parsons*, if they will not stand to this motion and profession. Nay he needs not [*a Pope eximiously good*] to consent to this much, unless that Pope be *eximiously good*, that exceedeth not the ordinary sort of the wicked in impiety : Which I confess I find some
Papists

Papists speaking of the Holy Seat.

SECT. XXXVIII.

§.38. **A**ND yet, when I pass but one page further (15) I find indeed for all this that *Grotius* is no Papist : (I may possibly understand this word at last.) But then he tells us what he means by a Papist, [*Papistas Grotius in illa Epistola — eos intelligebat, qui sine ullo discrimine omnia Paparum dicta factaque Probant, honorum aut lucri, ut fieri solet causâ.*] I would be glad if Mr. *Pierce* will tell us whether this be the description of a Papist that he will stand to. It seems with *Grotius*, a Papist is one that, *sine ullo discrimine*, doth like *Marcellinus* sacrificing to Devils, yea as well as his worshipping God : and one that will approve of *John* the thirteenth, for ravishing wives and maids at his doors; and one that will own the Adulteries, Sodomy, Murders, &c. of all the Popes that ever were guilty of them, and this *sine discrimine*, as well as their good deeds : A Papist is one that for honour or lucre sake will approve of *John* the two and twentieth (*alias* the three and twentieth) for denying
the

the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life Everlasting, and of all those other Articles of his Belief and Practice which the Council of *Constance* have left us at large : And one that liketh of *Leo* the tenth his Profession of faith to *Cardinal Bembus*, *Quantum nobis lucri hac fabula de Christo —*] Or at least he is one that approveth the Heresie of Pope *Honorius*, and the *Arian* subscription of *Liberius*, &c. Now we know what a Papist is. I blame not *Grotius* then for the wish that *Mr. Pierce* commendeth, as to the Papists, when he saith, that [if he had accomplished his wishes, there had not been in all the world a Papist or a Puritane] (pag. 92.) And I hope there are but few Papists in the world, if these only be Papists. I do not think that the very Infidels and Atheists that call themselves Roman Catholicks (for some such wear the Roman Vizer) are so bad as these of *Grotius* his description, that *sine ullo discrimine omnia Paparum dicta factaque probant.*

SECT.

SECT. XXXIX.

§. 39. **I**N the next words, p. 15. he tells us that by Papists he meaneth not them [*Qui salvo jure Regum & Episcoporum, Papa, (sive Episcopo Romano) eum concedunt primatum, quem mos Antiquus & Canones, & veterum Imperatorum & Regum ei assignant. Qui quidem Primatus non tam Episcopi est, quam ipsius Ecclesie Romane, ceteris omnibus praelata communi consensu* — *Sic Liberio Episcopo ita lapsso, ut Ecclesia esset mortuus, Ecclesia Romana jus suum retinuit, & Ecclesie Universalis causam turbata est.*] But 1. If it be but *communi consensu* that Rome hath this Primacy, why do you so often derive it from *Peter*? and why may not that Consent on weighty causes be withdrawn? 2. If it be that which is granted by Canons, and Emperours, how comes it to reach to the Universal Church, of which so great a part was out of the reach of the Canoneers, and from under the Power of those Kings and Emperours? I pray you when did *Prestor John* (as they call him) give power to the Pope, or Primacy either, in reference to his dominions? The like may be said of many more Princes, and

and populous Churches that had none to represent them in any of the General Councils: 3. But by this (with the rest) we understand the sense of *Grotius*: He is no Papist that is for that Supremacy only of the Pope and Church of *Rome*, that Canons and Emperours granted of old. And he hath sufficiently told us that he takes in *Gratian* and *Valentinian* among these Emperours: And *Valentinians* Letters or Grant are the highest testimony that the Popes upholders plead for his Universal Sovereignty or Heap-ship (to which see *Jacob. Cappellus answer. ubi sup. to Bulinger.*) So that this is even to give them what they wish. 4. But I would be glad to learn what is that Church of *Rome* that hath a Power to defend the Universal Church, and heal Schisms, and do the rest of the Popes work when he is dead? If it be the Cardinals, sure *Peter* and many a Generation after him were utter strangers to them. If it be the Clergy of the whole Patriarchate, or but of the suburbicarian Churches, they are all too new to be the Successor of *Peter* in his Primacy, and have no better title to shew for it then any of their neighbours. If it be the City Presbyterie, they may do well to prove their power over Bishops, and all
the

the Bish ops of the world. Sure this is like to be but an unwelcome conceit to the Episcopal : This is too hateful a Presbyterian Government, for them or us or any wise man to own. What's left then but that it be [*the Church Essential*] as they call it, that is, the Roman people, who must carry it by the vote : But truly this is such a kind of Independency or Popular Government, that I am resolved never to be Independent of this sort : Let it be enough for the people to be over their own Rulers, without being over all the Rulers of the Churches in the world. Truly I know not what that Roman Church is that *Grotius* would have to be the Universal Superiour of all Churches when the Pope is dead. Thus we see who is and is not a Papist.

SECT. XL.

§.40. **D** *Issuſſ. p. 185.* he profeſſeth that he will ſo interpret Scripture, [*Deo fa-
vente, & conſultis viris piis, ut non incurrat
in Regulam & à ſemet & à Synodo Tridenti-
nà traditam, &c.*] Which he mention-
eth, pag. 182. *Nihil in eo feciſſet, ne contra
Synedum quidem Tridentinam : Regula
enim*

enim prudentissima ejus Synodi de non interpretanda Scriptura contra unanimem Consensum Patrum, non obstat quo minus ad loca Scripturae, historica praesertim aut prophetica adferatur nova expositio, sed veteri Traditioni dogmatum nihil repugnans] For which he refers us to *Alcazar*. So that still he is fast to the *Tridentine Creed*. But we may see what a jest the Patrons of it do make it. They are devoutly to swear according to that Bull [*that they will never interpret Scripture but according to the unanimous Consent of the Fathers.*] But if there be no unanimous Consent of them at all, yea if they unanimously dissent, yet *Grotius* thinks this Oath is kept, so be it the exposition be not against their consent in matter of *Doctrine*: In expounding history and Prophecie we may safely venture upon novelty, and let the Fathers keep their expositions to themselves. Verily I had the charity till I read this explication of the *Trent Oath*, to think that the very novelties and contradictions of the Fathers, found in some late expositors, had been a sufficient argument to prove them to be no Papists. But I see I was deceived.

SECT.

SECT. XLI.

§. 41. **D***Isaus. pag. 239. he saith [Confessio Augustana commodè explicata, vix quicquam habet, quod non conciliari possit cum iis Dogmatis, quæ antiquitatis & Synodorum Authoritate apud Catholicos sunt recepta quod & ex Cassandro & ex Hoffmeistero datur cognosci. Et sunt etiam inter Jesuitas, qui non aliter sentiant]* Here again you see that the design is (to which some Jesuites consent) to make the Protestant Confession speak up to the sence of all those opinions which the Papists (for those are *Grotius* Catholics) have received either from the Authority of Councils or Antiquity. He will not with Bishop *Bromhal* abate us the Determinations of the last four hundred years: though if he did, it would prove but a pittiful patch for the torn condition of the Church.

SECT.

SECT. XLII.

ON this same account it is also that in §. 42. particular cases *Grotius* still pleads the Council of *Trent*, as that which he was resolved to conform to ; so *Discus. p.* 35. when he is speaking of the Real presence of Christs body in the Sacrament, he saith [*Et hoc est quod dicit Synodus Tridentina ; in isto Sacramento Jesum Christum verum Deum atq; hominem verè, realiter, ac substantialiter sub specie earum rerum sensibilibum contineri, non tamen juxta modum existendi naturalem, sed sacramentaliter, & ea existendi ratione, quam etsi verbis exprimere non possumus, possibilem tamen esse Deo cogitatione per fidem illustrata assequi possumus.]* And indeed in owning the *Trent* Creed, he must needs own this and more [*fieri q; conversionem totius substantia panis in corpus, & totius substantia vini in sanguinem, quam conversionem Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiationem appellat.]* So *p.* 37. he citeth with approbation the same doctrine as agreed to by the Greeks in the Council of *Florence* : which with many more such passages in his writings, shew us his faith in the point of transubstantiation.

SECT. XLIII.

§. 43. **S**O of the Article of Justification: *Dis-*
cus. p. 38. he saith that the true and
 ancient Doctrine of Remission of sin, and
 of the causes and nature of Evangelical
 Righteousness [*Semper fuerit in Ecclesia*
Catholica, & a Synodo Tridentina optime
fit explicata] And with him (*ibid.*) *Justi-*
tia est purgari à vitiis commissionis &
omissionis: Sanctitas, ad opera eximia ferri
heroico impetu. Nec illud rectè dicitur
justificationem nostram in eo consistere, quod
Christus peccatorum remissionem nobis ac-
quisivit (he should have said *donavit*)
Justificari enim est, aut justum facere, aut
ut justum tractare. Justus fit homo, cum
per fidem habitam Evangelio purgatur à
vitiis; & p. 39. Malè adjecit illius (justi-
tia) [*inherentis;*] *nulla enim est justi-*
tia alia. And Rivet having denyed that
 Inherent Righteousness is so perfect in this
 life, as may endure the exact judgement
 of God; He saith [*Talis Perfectio, id est,*
Pietas ad summum gradum producta, fuit
in Apostolis, Martyribus, aliisq; And of
 Christs satisfaction and our own he saith
 (*ibide.*) *Satisfecit pro nobis Christus genera-*
tim

tim, quia passione sua ius acquisivit omnibus se per Christum conversuris, id est, Deo satisfactoris pro criminibus suis. And for the nature and office of faith, he saith, p. 40, 41. *Credere, Abrahamo imputatum est in iusticiam; id est, pro magnifico facto id habitum est, non quod credidit Messiam pro peccatis ipsius mortem toleraturum, quod tamen an noverit, hic non disputabo: sed quod Deo vocanti & iubenti confusus est.* — Quia vero fides tanti est apud Deum, ideo ei datum est hoc munus longe maximum, purgandi hominem à vitiis, sive quod idem est, hominem justificandi. So that they that think his Annotations on Rom. were not fully his own, because of his doctrine of Faith and Justification there, should rather think that indeed they were his own, as agreeing so punctually with what he published himself. But then they must not be offended, that his later doctrine differeth from his former: For he frequently professeth that he was progressive, growing wiser and wiser in such things, and very prone to dislike what a little before he was pleased with (*ut in Epist. & alibi passim.*)

Again, pag. 77. he defendeth the term [Transubstantiation] and pag. 78. addeth

[*Sed de hoc mysterio, eo minus necesse est multa hic differi, quia de eo satis dictum est supra, allataq; verba Synodi Tridentina, ita commoda, ut lites quarant qui eis se velit opponere*] he must be a fellow so quarrellsome as to seek matter of contention, that will oppose the terms or doctrine of *Trent* about Transubstantiation, so admirably are they fitted.

SECT. XLIV.

§. 44. **D**iscuss. 79. He defendeth the Council of *Trent* for saying that the Sacrament is to be adored with Divine worship, saying [*Cum Synodus Tridentina dicit sacramentum esse adorandum cultu divino, nihil aliud vult quam ipsum Dei filium adorandum*] Which is very true in their sense that think that to be really, substantially, *ipsum Dei filium*, without any remaining substance of bread or wine, which we think to be substantially Bread and Wine, and to be but Representatively a Crucified Christ. But here you see that *Grotius* is for the *Trent* divine Adoration of the Sacrament, as it is Christ. Let his followers answer *Daile* and others that have said so much to prove this to be Idolatry, before they

they expect that we should all be of their faith.

SECT. XLV.

ABout Priests marriages he thinks that the Church did justly make a Law against it, yet alloweth them a power to change it, *Discuf. p. 129, 130. [Quod si constet, aut nullos aut paucos inveniri in sacerdotibus Castos — Coelibes, omnino Ecclesie est laxare legem gravi de causa quam non levi de causa fixerat* So that it was not a light cause that fixed the Law that forbids Priests marriage : but it should yet be altered, when it is manifest (when Priests will confess it, or be naught in the open streets) that either none or few unmarried Priests are found Chaste. There is hope then of repealing this Law ; but the Roman Church must be made a Holy Society of perjured whoremongers first. §. 45.

SECT. XLVI.

I Am weary of this unpleasing work (which within this weeke I hoped I should never have been put upon,) and therefore I shall not stand particularly §. 46.

to recite his sayings for *Images* (even of God himself) of the sacrifice of the *Mass* as expiatory of the sins of the living and dead, of oblations for the dead, of Prayers for the dead, and to the dead; of a penal Purgatory, of Traditions as part of the Apostolical Doctrine, not found in Scripture, with abundance more of which his *Annot. in Cassand.* his *Animadvers.* his *Votum pro pace*, and his *Discussio Apolog. Rivet.* will give him a sufficient account that would be acquainted with his mind, especially the last. Read impartially and judge as you find cause.

SECT XLVII.

§. 47. ONLY one point of his judgement more I shall rehearse, concerning the Holy Scripture, *D'scus. p. 171.* *Afflatu Dei locutos quæ locuti sunt; scripsisse quæ scribere iussi sunt, Prophetas, toto animo agnoscit Grotius; Idem judicat de Apocalypsi & Apostolorum predictionibus Christi dicta omnia quin Dei sint dicta dubitari nefas. De scriptis historicis, & moralibus Hebræorum sententiis, aliud putat; satis est quod pio animo Scripta sint, & optima fide, & de rebus summis. Quos libros tales judicavit*

cavit Synagoga, ii sunt Canonici Habraeis. Quos tales Ecclesia Christiana, ii sunt Canonici Christianis. Neq; Esdras neq; Lucas Propheta fuere, sed viri graves, Prudentes, qui nec fallere vellent, nec falli se sinerent. Dixitne Lucas [Factum est ad Lucam verbum Domini, & dixit ei Dominus] ut solent Propheta? Nihil tale. Quid ergo? [Quoniam quidem multi copati sunt ordinare narrationem quæ de nobis completa sunt rerum] Dicit se non præcepto, sed aliorum exemplo, adductum ut scriberet. — Quomodo assecuto? ex ipsis testibus, non ex revelatione. — Longe ergo aliter acti Propheta; aliter Lucas, cujus tamen tam pium Consilium spiritui sancto potest ascribi. Hæc ipsa veritas est, non blasphemia. — Pag. 172. Quæ autem sint literæ eximie sacre siue divinitus inspirata, exposuerat Grotius ex Secunda Petri, nempe sermo Propheticus, siue Prophetia Scripturæ, idq; scriptis libris consignata. — And page 177. Speaking of the books of the New Testament, he saith [Quod ne in illis quidem scriptis ea sit certitudo, quam à Traditionibus abesse queritur D. Rivetus.] I make no Comment on any of these words, or collection from them, but leave them to the Readers judgement.

SECT. XLVIII.

§. 48. **O**NE thing he tells me *Discus. p. 172.* that I knew not before, that the learned Papists themselves are not agreed, what Canon of Scripture it is that the Council of *Trent* hath established: There are *Particula quaedam* excepted by *Grotius* from the honour of ancient reverence, [*quas an in auctoritatem Ecclesiasticam receperit Synodus Tridentina, docti nunc quoq; dubitant.* And yet poor Protestants have no hope of Unity, or Peace, nor can the Holy Scriptures be understood but by the Determination of such Synods, or other judge, that can no better themselves be understood. The Papists it seems cannot tell which is the Canonical Scripture, after the Council of *Trent* hath undertaken the decision of it!

SECT. XLIX.

§. 49. **T**HE next point by which I leave you to judge whether *Grotius* was a Papist, is, *His constant joyning himself with them under the name of Catholikes, and applauding*

plauding their Jesuites, and reproaching the very Reformation itself, and the Protestant Churches, and his disowning, if not nullifying them. Read his Discussion throughout and judge. Pag. 10. He tells us that the Greek Church, are easily reconciled to the Roman, as the Council of Florence declareth, yea that they have the same Sacraments and opinions, adding to this falshood a Calumny against their Patriark Cyril (as if his blood did not satisfie the cruel Papists, unless they also destroy his surviving reputation)

[*Sed sumenda est Ecclesia Græca, non qualem ex suo capite Cyrillus nuper inductus pretio confinxerat, sed qualis est revera, qualem nobis exhibent scripta Jeremias.* —]

Should he not have proved this as well as said it, that he was *pretio inductus*, if he could? We do not think that all the Greek Church was so much Reformed as Cyril; and we have as little reason to think that that they were all so deformed as *Jeremias*. Neither of them was the Greek Church, though both were Patriarks: We have fuller helps to know their minds, then by either of them. And I suppose the Papists know by experience, that the Reconciliation is not so easie as *Grotius* pretends: And whether Protestants and Papists are
liker

liker to Purchase a Consent from them by money, is an easie matter for any many of common reason that knows them to discern. *Thomas à Jesu*, and *Possevine*, and many more Papists will trulyer tell us of the distances between them, then *Grotius* hath done. Though for my part, I make no doubt, but among us all, they are pretended in Doctrinals to be much greater than they are, by men that understand not the state of the Controversies.

SECT. I.

§. 50. *SO* Discuss. p. 48. *Hec, de quo Deo sit gratia, Catholici ita non credunt, quanquam multi qui Catholicos se dicunt, ita vivunt quasi ista crederent; sed Protestantes quidem ex vi dogmatum, Catholici ex lapsu Discipline.*] Here (as throughout oft) Catholics and Protestants are opposed. Indeed many Catholics have wicked lives but it is the Protestants only that have the Doctrine that makes men wicked: For pag. 28. he told us, that God hath suffered their manners at *Rome* to be corrupted but the Doctrine is not corrupted. It were a hard censure of *Grotius*, to judge him such

such a dissembler, or so unwise as after all this to be a Protestant. I must needs vindicate him from such unjust imputations.

SECT. LI.

D *Iscliff.* pag. 71. he tells us what it is §. 51.
that he aimeth at. The Churches that
joyn with *Rome* have not only the Scri-
ptures, but the *Dogmata* explained in the
Councils, and the Popes Decrees against
Pelagius, &c. [*Receperunt etiam constitu-
tiones egregias Conciliorum & Patrum, in
quibus abundè est unde vitia corrigantur :
sed non omnes iis utuntur quantum oportet.
Manent illæ plerumque conditæ in chartis, ut
in vagina gladius : Et hoc est quod omnes
pietatis & pacis amantes corrigi velint :*]
and tells us of the example of *Car. Bor-
romæus*, as oft he doth. So that *Borromæus*
Reformation is plainly it that *Grotius* would
be contented with. I am as ready as ano-
ther to think that this Cardinal was a Saint
indeed ; (and it seemeth Saints are rare at
Rome even among the Clergy and the Car-
dinals, when this one mans Piety and Re-
formation must be noted by a Canonizati-
on.) But I am confident that the Pope
would

would never have Sainted him, had he been better then he was, if he had not taken him for a Papist: We have his Canons at large in *Binnius*, in which are many things that shew him to be a Christian, and not a few that shew him to be a Papist. And the Papists would take it for no small injury, if you would rob them of this Saint.

SECT. LII.

§. 52. **H**ence it is that the Protestant's is falsely called by him [*a new Religion*] and [*non multis seculis per manus tradita.*] *Discuss.* pag. 206. Whereas we desire nothing more then to appeal to Antiquity and let the eldest carry it, and the newest be cast out. Of all new things, we have no mind of a new God, or a new Gospel, or Religion.

SECT. LIII.

§. 53. **H**ence is it also that he often reproacheth the Reformation, as an impious tumultuary, rebellous thing. *Discuss.* p 16 [*Vitia quae a noscit optimus Cassander* (cha
is,

s, among the Papists) *agnoscit & Grotius.*
Si, qui secessionem fecerunt (that is , the
 Protestants) *partem eorum abstulerunt, in-*
duxerunt alia, seditiones, vim contra Principes,
imperiorum mutationes suo ex usu, morem
frangendi ades sacras, altaria, imagines, bel-
la excitandi & fovendi sub Sancto Evangelii
nomine invexerunt quidam (that the Calvi-
 nists in special) *& dogmata in id compara-*
ta, ut homines, de misericordia Dei nimium
sibi pollicentes, in peccatis indormiscerent.]
 How true this Charge is , I shall briefly
 touch upon anon. But here you see his
 mind.

SECT. LIV.

Hence also he hath so many Elogies §. 54.
 for the Jesuites, and so many censures
 for the moderate Protestants , whom he
 sometime most highly honoured for their
 Learning and Moderation. *Petavius* is *vir*
eximius, and his Books *de dogmat. Theolog.*
are libri eximii. Discuss. p. 11. And pag. 12.
benè ostendit liber à summæ eruditionis viro
Jacobo Sirmondo nuper editus. (Salmasius
 hath given another Character of him, *de*
Eccles. suburbicariis : and yet no man
 greater

greater with *Grotius* a little before then *Salmasius*.) And p. 91. *Sunt autem inter Jesuitas, qui in Gallia vivunt viri eruditi, rerum antiquarum & nostrorum quoque temporum periti*—— And so proceeds to shew their peaceableness, and to vindicate the Society of Jesuites, from the dishonour of the writings of *Mariana*, *Santarellus* and *Becanus*, and to charge *Pareus* writings on others. I would not have the greatest adversaries defrauded of their due praise. But the injustice and partiality shews the meaning of the man. What men greater with him a while before then *Casaubone* and *Scaliger*, (and the foresaid *Salmasius*) ? But *Discuss.* p. 20. [*Casaubonus hostiliter à quibusdam tractatus, ut erat bilis non expers, nimis ostendit sibi suas injurias leves non videri* (one would think that *mutato nomine de se fabula* ——) *praesertim instigante Scaligero, qui multa locutus eleganter, moderate pauca.* Men change with *Grotius* as he changed himself.

SECT.

SECT. LV.

Y E A *Augustine* himself escapeth not §. 55.
 his censures, though he be above
 them, because he was not of his mind.
Discuss. 96. [*Sapientiores fuere semper
 Romani Episcopi, quam ut Augustini omnia
 probarent.*] Doubtless they approved not
 all that was *Augustines*, for he approved not
 all himself. But, 1. They approved more
 then *Grotius* did. 2. O that either *semper*,
 or *sepenumero*, or but *aliquando*, the Roman
 Popes had proved *Augustines*. 3. As they
 were wiser then to approve all that *An-*
guſtine wrote, so are the Protestants wiser
 then to approve all that is the judgement
 of the Pope. But saith he, pag. 97. *Ut
 dicam quod sentio, puto Augustinum, adeo
 non cum prioribus, ne secum quidem per om-*
nia posse conciliari: ita contranitendi studio
se in illas ambages induxit, ut non invenerit
qua se extricaret: Paucis Scriptura addu-
ctus locis, quæ facile commodam interpreta-
tionem recipiunt, locis aliis & pluribus &
clarioribus, per quæ Deus significatur omni-
um salutem velle, interpretationes dat violentas,
& nunc has, nunc illas, incertus quo se
vertat. Ut dicam aliquid amplius, fuit uti-
lis

lis Augustinus ad monita danda pia vita, et interpretandas Scripturas satis infelix, certi Gracis multis inferior.] If the Dominicans only were Papists, I would say that Grotius was none.

SECT. LVI.

§. 56. **A**ND Discuss. 139, 140. & *passim* he rejecteth our Churches as wanting a Succession of Bishops from the Apostles which he saith the Catholicks (that is, the Papists have. [*Semper apud Catholicos ista praescriptio valuit: Vos à vobis orti estis non potestis Episcopos ostendere, quorum series ad Apostolos ordinatores decurrat.*] Would you think this were the same man that wrote *de Imperio sum. Potest.* or that gave it as one Argument, upon the reading of Clements Epist. to the Corinth. that it was genuine, [*Quod nusquam meminit exsorti illius Episcoporum auctoritatis, quae Ecclesiae consuetudine post Marci mortem Alexandria, atque eo exemplo alibi, introduci coepit sed plane ut Paulus Apostolus ostendit Ecclesias communi Presbyterorum, qui iidem omnes & Episcopi ipsi Pauloque dicuntur Consilio fuisse gubernatas?*] Epist. 162. ad Bignon. p. 397. Well,

Well, are the Romanists more blessed
 then we in their succession? Yes, saith he
 in the next words, (*Disc. p. 139.*) [*In
 electionibus saepe valere, quod dolendum est,
 gratia aula, seditio plebis, arcane nunditia-
 ones* ——— *At non propterea intercidit Or-
 dinatio per Episcopos cujusque temporis, ad
 illos ab Apostolis factos Episcopos scandens;
 quam radicem & matricem Ecclesie Catho-
 licæ vocat. Cyprian. Ep. 45. Aut si alicubi
 intercidit, id vitium postea sanatum est ab
 aliis Ecclesiis legitime ordinationis tramitem
 retinentibus.*] But this will not heal the Ro-
 man intercessions, who receive Power from
 no other Churches, but all from them: nor
 de facto, have they alwaies had this reme-
 dy from other Churches: Of which else-
 where.

He proceeds: [*At quomodo ordinati
 in Ecclesia, in quibus non observati Canones
 Ecclesie? Quomodo Ecclesia quæ non ab
 Apostolis derivata, sed ex se nata est?* ———
 It seems that the observation of the Scri-
 pture, without the Canons, will not prove
 us ordained in the Church, though some
 Churches never had a vote in making those
 Canons. I would we knew which Canons
 are Essential to the Church and which not;
 For sure I am that the Papists have cut off
 I many;

many. And I would know what Church it is that hath Power to make a new Canon, the observation of which shall be Essential to a Church, or Pastor, or Church-member; and so to make us a new kind of Church. And for Apostolical Succession, in the necessary part, we are afore-hand with the Papists; and in the not-necessary part they are more grossly defective than we, as I shall elsewhere shew. But by all this we see, that we are no Churches or Ministers, in the esteem of *Grotius* (if I understand him) but the Papists are.

SECT. LVII.

§. 57. **I**T was this gross abuse of the Protestant Churches, that many among us have been guilty of, and still are, that occasioned me to give that warning in my *Christian Concord* as I did, concerning the promoters of *Grotius* his design. Those that unchurch either all or most of the Protestant Churches; and maintain the Roman Church and not theirs, to be true, do call us to a moderate jealousy of them, and to the defence of our Churches: Of which I have said somewhat in my *Second sheet for the Ministry*,

stry, and hope, God willing, to say more. Had we no better proof our Ministry, then a Roman Succession is to them, we should think as hardly of our Case as *Grotius* did in this.

SECT. LVIII.

TO all these I must add, that the design §. 58.
of *Grotius*, while he pretended to Moderation, and Catholicism, and Liberty, doth seem to me to have been Schismatical, Partial and Cruel : I speak not of his desire of the blood of any particular person ; but of his motion in general, and the effect that it was framed and fitted to procure. That Popery is a meer Schism, and Papists a Sect, I have proved in two or three writings against them. That it was *Grotius* his wish, that there might have been no Puritane left in the world, and that he had more for this then empty wishes, Mr. *Pierce* tells us, pag. 92. But I shall charge *Grotius* with no mans words but his own. *Discuss.* pag. 1, 2. speaking of his Catholick Peace, he saith of *Rivet*, [*Non illum, qualis est, ad pacem invitaverat Grotius : namq; ad eam, quando illa Dei beneficio restitueretur, admitt-*

ti D. Rivetus, & quicquid sunt similes, nunquam potuerunt: obstant dogmata ab Ecclesia vetere damnata, & noxia: obstat ardens ejus studium ad convellendum ordinem illum regiminis, quo nititur pax Ecclesiae: obstat libertas quam defendit pro novis opinionibus erigendi novas Ecclesias, &c.] Grotius his Catholick Church and Peace then is too narrow to hold such as *Rivet*, and such as hold the opinions that he held, and such as are against the Government that *Grotius* was for; and such as must have the liberty of particular Churches exempt from the persecuting power of his Catholics, because of a difference in some opinions. But, without a Spirit of Prophecie, I dare foretell, that the Church shall never have Catholick Peace upon such terms as these: Nor is it truly the Catholick Church that shuts out such as *Grotius* here describeth. Alas when I look to *Russia*, and most of the Greek Churches, and to *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Ethiopia*, &c. how incomparably below *Rivet* and the rest that *Grotius* here excludeth, are millions and millions, that yet are members of the Catholick Church, had I not more charity to the Papists, then *Grotius* to the Protestants, I must take few of them to be members meet for Catholick

lick Peace. Peace-makers on such terms as these, are not the least Peace-breakers.

SECT. LIX.

SO *Discuss. p. 5* he professeth it his duty to perswade the Swedes, *Ne tam inquietum hominum genus in terras suas unquam admittant.* And saith that *Magistratus omnes sibi ab illis timere debent; nam nisi ad Prava ista Consilia exequenda, & præsertim ad opprimendos alios, se ministris Calvinistis satellites præbeant, hi illos dimovebunt per plebem, per militem, aut quovismodo.*] By these and many other passages, I find that *Grotius* his Catholick Peace, is too narrow and too uncatholick to reach to the Calvinists. As for such reproaches as these here mentioned, as I have said more to the like, against the Papists in my *Key for Catholics*, concerning the late proceedings here in *England*, so I desire the Reader to peruse but what *Rivet* hath said to *Silvester* on that subject, and *Bishop Usher* in his Sermon before the Parliament, and *Bishop Bilson*, besides abundance more. And then judge whether it be the Protestants or Papists that best deserve this charge.

SECT. LX.

§ 60.

AND if after all this there be any doubt of *Grotius* his meaning, *Mr. Pierce* may have some further light from his last *Epist. ad Gallos*, to the *Jesuite Petavius*, which begins, [*Sape tibi molestus esse cogor, & ad opem antehac feliciter mihi cognitam refugere. Postremo libello meo pro pace scripto, opposuit Rivetus Examen, quod mitto*—— *Sumpsit hanc ultimam operam meam antehac dicta & famam quoque à Ministris allatrata tuendi. In eo scripto, siquid est aut Catholicis sententiis incongruens aut ceteroqui à veritate alienum, aut minus idoneum ad pacem, de eo abs te viro eruditissimo & cujus judicium plurimi facio, moneri percipio. Rogo permittas mihi lumen de lumine accendere.*] Had there been any thing in *Grotius* his writings against *Rivet*, that *Petavius* had thought to be dissonant from the Catholick opinions, you may conjecture by this, that we had never seen it.

SECT.

SECT. LXI.

I Have now done one half of the work §. 61.
that Mr. *Pierce* hath called me to, in giving in the Reasons why I take *Grotius* to have been a Papist. If I have made it good, I have no cause to retract my former judgement, and the warning that I gave concerning him to others: Yet I desire that none be so injurious as to interpret my warning of others as intended to the reproach of him: For 1. I think it no reproach to any man to say that he is of that Church which he saith he is of himself, and to take him to be of the mind that he professeth himself to be of: but rather it would be a reproach to him, if any man shall say that he is such a dissembler as to be of a Party or Religion contrary to his open voluminous profession. 2. And my censuring *Grotius* to be a Moderate Papist, intimateth not so much uncharitableness in me to him, as it would have done in him to have taken me for a Protestant: For have much more charity (I dare boldly say it) for moderate Papists, then *Grotius* had for any Protestants that will not be

Reconciled to the Pope, if we may judge of his Charity by his words. And yet I will not take it for a reproach to be called a Protestant. Even as in case I should say Mr. *Pierce* were an Arminian, or Prelatical, or of *Grotius* mind (which yet I do not) this were not such a note of uncharitableness in me, as it were in him to judge me but a Puritane or a Presbyterian; Because an Arminian, yea or a Grotian Papist, is not near so deformed, and odious a creature in my eyes, as a Puritane or a Presbyterian seemeth to be, by the Pourtraiture and Characters vouchsafed them by Mr. *Pierce*. And yet I will take it for no reproach to be called a Puritane or a Presbyterian, by him that intends not these names for a reproach. Though I cannot say that I am either, or that I am not, till I better understand the signification of the terms; especially with the speaker.

S E C T.

SECT. LXII.

YEA I must say that my thoughts have §.62.
ever justified *Grotius* from that Here-
sie which he hath too oft been charged
with; viz. *Socinianism*. I never could
perceive that he was of that sect: but
whatever he hath said or done that way, I
have reason to think, was no more then the
Jesuites ordinarily would have done: and
that he complied much more with the Je-
suites then the Socinians: For it is his own
profession; (and I will believe him) and
his doctrines signifie it. Indeed the
Jesuites themselves are not neer so far from
the *Socinians* as the Reformed Churches
are; but have many opinions complying
with them, which when men find in *Grotius*,
they mistake him (I think) for a Socinian. If
he oft say that *Imputed Righteousness is un-*
known to Scriptures, and that *Iustitia impu-*
tata frigus injecit & plebi & plebis ducibus,
&c. (Discus. p. 170.) or that Christ sa-
tisfied by meriting that we by Conversion
should satisfie, &c. No such passages as
these will prove him a Socinian any more
then all the Jesuites are Socinians. And
the doctrine of the Trinity he expressly
owns

owns, however he deal with particular Texts of Scripture that concern it. Nor do I know of any Passage in his Explication of that doctrine in which he gives so much occasion of offence this way, as *Thom. White* (*Instit. Theolog.*) and many other Papists do, that are on the side that *Grotius* disliked; much more as the Jesuites do.

SECT. LXIII.

§. 63. **I** Dare boldly say that he was an unjust man in his Censures of the Doctrines of the *Calvinists*, pretending the differences to be much greater between them and the *Lutherans* than they are, and putting a more odious Vizard on the face of their doctrines of Faith, Justification, Certainty of Salvation, Election, Perseverance, effectual Grace, &c. then becomed any judicious man, that understood the state of the Controversies, or the strength of an argument, and had any Christian Charity left. Or else we should never have had it over again, after full Confutations, that it was [*Editum saepe, & à nonnullis defensum; Pecca fortiter, sed credo*

crede fortius, & nihil nocebunt tibi centum homicidia, & mille strupa] When I read such passages (*Discuf. p. 217, 218.*) my conscience is in a strait, whether it be my duty to open the falshood and abomination of such inhumane Calumnies in their colours in faithfulness to the Church and servants of the Lord; or whether I should forbear, because the partial and offended will take it to be railing and reproach. But because I am more blamed by others, for too much plainness or keenness, then for defect, I will sit down by their judgement, and forbear. Only I must profess that if I were in every point of doctrine of *Grotius* mind, I think I should abhor this dealing with an adversary. And indeed, as far as I am able to judge through all his later writings, it was the too much dearness of his Remonstrants Opinions, and thinking the distance between him & his adversaries greater then it was, and his too highly esteeming his espoused conceits, and too odious thoughts of the contrary way, that inclined him so strongly to fall in with the Jesuites, as finding them to agree with him where the *Calvinists* differed in points which he thought to be of such exceeding moment. But of the Dominicans he expresseth
lower

lower thoughts ; though in this he applaudeth them that they deny certainty of Salvation, though they agree with *Rivet* in other points. *Discuf. p. 95.*

SECT. LXIV.

§. 64. **I**F after all this noise and bitter accusation of the Reformed Churches which he poureth out, it should be made appear, that the difference between the Protestants and many Papists in certainty of Salvation (excepting the point of perseverance) is next to none ; yea *Alvarez. in Respons. ad Object.* saith that some Jesuites, naming *Gregory de Valentia*, do maintain not only a certainty of perseverance it self, but a necessity in the confirmed ; and if it shall be made appear that in the very points of imputed Righteousness, of Free will, of Reprobation, of universal Redemption, the difference between the Remonstrants and the Synod of *Dort*, is incomparably smaller then *Grotius* makes it, and so that his alienation and censures run upon a meer mistake, that he odiously aggravates the opinions that deserve it not, or that were far neerer his own then he imagined ; what a dishonour would this be

to his bitter censures, reproaches and clamours, and to his factious uncharitable way of Pacification, that must exclude men as incapable of the Churches Peace, that the Lord of the Church and Peace will not exclude? and that on such mistakes he should change his Church or Religion, was none of his honour. But then I must add, that when he takes all unmeet expressions that he can find in any Divines, as if they were the common doctrine of that party, he is guilty of his own mistakes, and deals as he would not do by the Papists.

SECT. LXV.

THE second part of my task is yet behind, which is set me by Mr. *Pierce*, which is to give some account of my suspicions, and the warning I give of the *Grotian* party and design in *England*. But here I must expect that neither Mr. *P.* nor any moderate man will presently charge me with motioning a persecution of all that I prove guilty; or understand me as if I were provoking the Magistrate to rigor against them. May we not so much as know our danger, nor give warning of

of it, nor bid men take heed, but we are presently persecuting them that we are in danger of? It were a hard case with the Church, if men may do their worst to undermine our Churches and Religion, and we might not take notice of it, nor be called on to avoid it, for fear of dishonouring the Miners or disturbing them. We hate persecution, and yet we love the Church and our souls.

SECT. LXVI.


§. 66. **B**UT the Reverend Doctor *Sanderson* thinks I should also have given notice how the taking down of Episcopacy, &c. hath advantaged the Papists, &c. to which I say, 1. All men cannot say all things that are true; especially at once. 2. All men see not that which some see: May I not give notice of a danger which I see, because I say nothing of another which I see not? 3. My subject and business in that writing called me to no more than I did. 4. I am not addicted, for all that, to hide my mind: and therefore God willing, I shall shortly give the world an account how far I think Episcopacy good or bad
for

for the Church of God, and consequently what I think in this case. 5. Yet this I will say now to satisfie Doctor *Sanderſon* and my own conſcience, that of late I begin to have a ſtrong ſuſpicion that the Pa-piſts had a finger in the Pie on both ſides, and that they had indeed a hand in the extirpation of Episcopacy; but my jealousies will not warrant me to affirm it, or to be confident of it, or to accuſe any. When I can prove this by them as well as I have proved what I ſaid by *Grotius*, you may perhaps hear more of me. In the mean time I muſt blame, and again blame any of you all, that will not diſcloſe this if you are able to prove it. I find in Mr. *Prins* History of *Canterburies* Tryal, that *Cardinal Richlieu* was a promoter of the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and I find in Biſhop *Bramhal* againſt *Militerius* theſe words [*There was a Biſhop in the world (loſers muſt have leave to talk)* *whoſe privy purſe and ſubtile Conſels did help to kindle that unnatural war in his Majeſties three Kingdoms,*] &c. I ſuppoſe he means *Cardinal Richlieu*. But what they did directly againſt Episcopacy, I muſt leave to them to prove that can.

SECT.

SECT. LXVII.

§. 67. **V**VHether I had any just cause to think that *Grotius* had followers here in *England*, and consequently that the warning that I gave was necessary, let his own words tell you, *Discus.* page 16.

 [*Æquis multis non displicuisse Grotii pro pace Ecclesie labores, norunt Lutetia, & in omni Gallia multi, multi in Polonia & Germania, in Angliâ non pauci, placidi pacisq; amantes. Nam insanientibus in quantum nunc videmus Brunistis, & siqui eorum sunt similes, quibuscum D. Riveto melius quamcum Angliæ Episcopis convenit, quis placere, ab illorum veneno intactus postulet?*] If *Grotius* [his Piety and Learning were very equally matcht] as Mr. *Pierce* thinks page 92: then doubtless he is here to be believed, and therefore had among the Episcopal party, no small number of approvers: though the *Brownists* and such others were against him. Indeed if I have not proved *Grotius* himself to be as much a Papistas I there mentioned, then neither are his adherents and approvers such; and so all lies upon that.

SECT.

SECT. LXVIII.

AND if I have proved *Grotius* a Pa- §. 68.
pist, then me thinks it is strange that
any man should approve of his Opinions
in those things, and yet take it ill to be
judged himself to be what *Grotius* was,
even while he defendeth him. Mr. *Pierce*
is not the first or only man that hath pa-
tronized him: And Mr. *P.* I must needs
think is not unacquainted with his writings,
1. Because he so highly values him. 2. Be-
cause he so confidently vindicates him.
3. Because he suspected it as my errour to
have [*taken things upon trust, from some*
unfavourable censors of his intention,] p. 93.
and therefore would not take his judge-
ment upon trust himself. 4. Because his
own words intimate it: He *was prepared*
by the reading of Thuanus for the reading
of Grotius, page 93. Yet M. *P.* affirmeth
page 94. that there [*is not any the least rea-*
son that Grotius his moderation should pro-
cure him the name of Papist.] They that
speak to the Vulgar, must speak with the
Vulgar. We common people, call such
Papists as *Grotius* professeth himself to have
been. But if Mr. *Pierce* will call him other-

wise we will not stick much with him, for the name, while we are agreed on the things. I confess that *Grotius* was no such Papist as himself describeth [*that without any difference approveth for honour or lucre sake all the sayings and deeds of the Popes.*] But with us a man is a Papist that is for the Popes Universal Headship and Government of the Churches, and that is for the *Trent* Creed and Council, with all the rest before mentioned. Now would it be any injury for me to believe that Mr. *Pierce* himself is of *Grotius* his mind, after so full an Approbation and vindication of him? And yet I will not affirm any such thing: For I know not till I hear again from Mr. *Pierce* what mistake he might incur; and I would take men to be of the Religion which they profess. But yet I must say that Mr. *Pierce* could not blame any for such a censure.

SECT. LXIX.

§. 69. **B**UT Mr. *Pierce* thinks [*it had been well if I had named those Papists, and then have publickly declared that I meant no more: p. 94.*] I am not of that mind.

For

For 1. Some of them have very lovingly sought to profelyte me, as having (by the reproaches of some unadvised Brethren) been brought to have some hopes of me ; And truly ingenuity prohibits me to betray them that manifested their love to me, though in a mistaken way : For I am confident, they think they are in the right, and intended my good while they endeavoured my hurt. 2. What if I had named Bishop *Goodman*, and all the rabble that your Friend in the *Legenda Ligneæ* describes (which are more then Dr. *Vane*, and Dr. *Goffe* and Dr. *Baily*, and *H. P. de Cressy*, as you may there see,) had it been reasonable that I should have thought there are no more ? 3. *Grotius* assures me himself (whom I have reason to believe) that not a few such there were among the Prelatical men : And what if I knew not the name of one of them, should I not therefore take any notice that such there are ? 4. By this time I suppose both you and all men see that the Papists are crept in among all Sects, especially the Quakers, and Seekers, whom they animate, and also among the Anabaptists, Millenaries, Levellers, yea and the Independents, and if this weeks *Diurnal* say true, one was

taken that was a pretended friend to the Presbyterians. Must I needs name all these, or else say nothing of them? Or are you able to name all the Papists, the Fryars and Jesuites your selves that are now under the Vizor of any of these Sects, playing their parts in *England*? you would take it to be an unreasonable motion: when yet you know, or have reason to believe that at this day there are hundreds of them here at work.

SECT. LXX.

§. 70. **T**HE truth is, I judge it unmeet to name even those that have given us just cause of suspicion, because it may tend to breach of Peace, and to the harder censuring and usage of the persons, which is none of my desire. My warning was only for defence, and Mr. *Pierce* would provoke me to do that which must needs turn to the offence and suffering of others, which no provocation shall force me to without necessity. Verily I desire nothing to be done against the grossest Papists among us, but what is necessary for the security of Church and Commonwealth,

wealth, and the saving of mens souls from their infectious delusory doctrines. Nominations are more to the danger of mens persons, when descriptions serve as well to our own security; which was my professed end.

SECT. LXXI.

AND in this Description I beseech §. 71.
You blame us not if we be jealous of such men as these. 1. Of Those that actually were the Agents in the English illegal Innovations, which kindled all our troubles in this land, and were conformable to the *Grotian* design. 2. Of those that bend the course of their writings and persuasions to make the Roman Church honourable, and vindicate them, not only from the charge of Antichristianism, but from the most of the imputations that the Reformed Churches lay upon them; and that labour to make the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship and Practices of the Reformed Churches as odious as they can, using the same common arguments against them, and reproaches of them, as the Papists do. 3. Of those that labour to prove the Church of *Rome* a true Church because

because of his succession, &c. and the Reformed Churches to be none for want of that succession (except this corner that had Bishops :) and that labour to prove the truth of the Papists Ministry and administrations, and to degrade or disprove the Ministers of all the Reformed Churches that have not Prelates. 4. Of those that are for a Visible Head of the universal Church, whether Pope or General Council. 5. Of those that deny the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures in all things necessary to Salvation, or Universally to the Peace of the Church, and that tell us that Scripture is but part of the word of God, and Tradition contains the rest, as needful to the foresaid ends. 6. That will not be persuaded to join on any reasonable terms for the healing of our present divisions: unless all the Churches be unchurched, and all the Ministers degraded, that be not Prelatical, they will have no Peace or concord with us. When all these, or many of these go together, you must not blame us to be eautelously jealous, as far as is needfull to our own preservation, when in general we know that there are Papists among us, and are acquainted with their doctrine and Interests and designs.

SECT. LXXII.

BUT yet I say again, if you think that §. 72.
 I any more by the foresaid warning intended to raise a jealousy on all the Episcopal Divines, then on any other party, among whom the Papists are known to insinuate, you are guilty of very gross injustice, when I professedly excepted all the Protestant Episcopal men, and as reverently spoke of them, I think, as you would have wished me. Do you think that all men that have eyes do not see that between the old Episcopal Divines, and the new (even such as your selves) there is much more difference then between the Presbyterians and them? Do you think that Bishop *Jewel*, *Pilkinton*, *Hall*, *Carlton*, *Davenant*, *Morton*, *Abbot*, *Usher*, *Potter*, *Domname*, *Grindall*, *Parker*, *Hooper*, *Farrar*, *Cramner*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, and forty more Bishops here, did not differ far more from *Grotius*, yea and from you and all of your mind, then from the Ministers of *England* that you call Presbyterians at this day? You are exceedingly deceived if you think they did not. We honour and reverence all honest faithful Epis-

scopal Divines as much as any other men. We take not Episcopacy to be either so excellent or so odious a thing, as that all other matters of Concord or Discord should be estimated by that. And therefore go not about to make men believe that we jumble all Episcopal Divines together ; or that we cannot see more difference between one sort of them and the other ; then between the Presbyterians and the antient Bishops. Take my description, and apply my words to none but those that it agreeth to. All that hold to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* are Protestants with me.

SECT.

SECT. LXXIII.

IF I should rise higher and shew the Probability that the Grotian design was the cause of all our wars and changes here in *England*, I should neither please you nor my self. And therefore I will only say this, 1. That *Franc. à S. Clara's* design and *Grotius's* seem the very same, and their Religion and Church the same. 2. That this *S. Clara* is yet the Queens Chaplaine, (as *White* tells us;) and the *French* Religion being the same with *Grotius's*, we have reason enough to believe the Queen to be so moderate as to be of the same Religion. 3. How far the King was inclined to a Reconciliation, I only desire you to judge; 1. By the Articles of the *Spanish* and *French* match (sworn to) 2. By his Letter to the Pope, written in *Spain*. 3. By the choice of Agents for Church and State. 4. By the residence of the Popes *Nuntio's* here, and the Colledge for the *Jesuites*, &c. 5. By the illegal innovations in worship, so resolutely *gradatim* introduced. All which I speak not with the least desire to perswade men that he was a Papist, nor do

§ 73.

I believe any such thing (His conference with the Marquess of *Worcester* may satisfy men for that) but only to shew that while he as a Moderate Protestant took hands with the Queen a Moderate Papist, the *Grotian* design had great advantage in *England*, which he himself boasted of.

SECT. LXXIV.

§.74. **A**ND though the moderate Papists might promote the *English* change, yet I must confess I see cause enough to think that the Pope and the *Italians* so much feared it, as that they might very probably have a considerable hand in raising our wars, to break the plot. Had *Grotius* and such as he prevailed for a combination of *France*, *England*, and the (now Popish) Queen of *Sweden*, and others that were inclined to a moderation, no doubt but the Pope would have thought himself unsafe : For it is not the terms of *Cassander*, *Grotius*, or the *French* that will serve his turn. And though it were not a Reformation of Doctrine, or the Form of Government or Worship that *Grotius* seemed to desire, but of Manners & such Corruptoins as without
Councils,

Councils or Traditions were brought in ; yet even this much of Reformation is so hardly obtained at *Rome*, that neither Councils nor Emperours could ever hitherto procure it, as *Grotius* frequently confesseth : And therefore *Grotius* plainly intimateth , that unless he could have a Pope eximiously good , he would have Kings combine to force a Reformation : and this was it that the Pope was afraid of, more then of many shattered adversaries that stood at a far greater distance from him. Though the *Calvinists* would have used him hardlier if they had power , yet their weakness and broken state made them seem more inconsiderable at *Rome*, then such a combination of Princes for a lesser Reformation. And such a *Grotian* design was like to have found such abundance of favourers among the Moderate Papists in all Countries, that if it had gone on, the Pope would have found himself nowhere safe. Though among Protestants such Pacifications are very serviceable to the Pope , by taking off the edge of opposition, and drawing in the unsettled under the pretence of Unity, and opening a door to the Roman Agents to draw in more ; yet if such designs were set a foot in *Italy, Spain, Bavaria, Austria,*

&c.

&c. they would marr all. So that I do not wonder if it be true that some have Printed and confidently averr, that the Papists did not only kindle our wars here, and had afterwards an influence on both sides to blow the coals and look to their interest, but also that it was by this Roman influence that the late King was put to death : Of which to the Papists in another Treatise I have given somewhat a fuller account.

SECT. LXXV.

§. 75. **B**UT yet I remain confident that as the design of *Grotius*, so that which in *England* was carryed on, was very much against the will of God : And though it had a great probability of displeasing the Pope, if it had extended far enough among his own subjects, yet was it very unjust, and proceeded on unwarrantable Grounds; having many or most of the unhappy ingredients that I mentioned of the design of *Grotius* in the beginning : It was not a truly Catholick design : Or else it would not have shut out so many faithful servants of Christ, and members of the Catholick Church : It engaged men in a persecution :

It was apparently destructive to Godliness and the prosperity of the Churches here : It animated the Impious haters of Piety , and common civility, while those that they hated for Godliness sake (though most of them twenty for one were Conformists) were discountenanced, troubled, reproached by the then odious name of Puritans, silenced, or suspended, and many thousands driven out of the Land : So that it was safer in all places that ever I knew, for men to live in constant swearing, cursing, drunkenness (for all that the Laws were against these) then to have instructed a mans family , and restrained children and servants from dancing on the Lords day, and to have gone to the next Parish to hear a Sermon when there was none at home ; and in some places , it was much more dangerous for a Minister to preach a Lecture or twice on the Lords day, or to expound the Catechism , then never to preach at all. Hundreds of Congregations had Ministers that never preached , and such as were common drunkards and openly ungodly , when yet the most Learned, Godly, Powerful, Painful, Peaceable men , that durst not use the old Ceremonies or the New, must be cast aside, or driven away, to the great increase
of

of ignorance and ungodliness, and the provoking of the wrath of God against us. These were not likely terms or waies to a Catholick Peace and Concord of the Churches. I know well enough that the persecutors did and do pretend that these *Puritans* and *Calvinists* as they called them, were men of unpeaceable principles and spirits, and therefore not to be endured, or taken into Peace; they would not consent to moderate terms: But God will not be satisfied with words, when his servants are persecuted and his Churches destroyed, or his interest trodden under-foot. Talk for them as long as you will, these are not the waies of Catholick Peace, but crooked paths of your own hewing out, and whoever goeth in them shall not know Peace. If these men could not have complied with you in your Innovations, or approaches to the Roman way, should they not have had leave to live in Peace by you, and serve God in their own way, as long as they were true members of the Catholick Church, and so useful for the good of souls?

SECT.

SECT. LXXVI.

I Know you will say, that its you that are §. 76.
now persecuted, and others are guilty
of the same that they blamed you for. But
I answer, 1. If that be so, the sense of it
should cause you to confess your former
sin, and not to justify that in your party
which you blame in others. 2. I have
heard of an Ordinance or Proclamation
while the Major Generals were on foot
prohibiting any sequestred man to preach,
but I know not of one that ever was pu-
nished for preaching. What may be done
out of my knowledge or hearing, I cannot
tell. 3. The casting out of the Insufficient
and Scandalous, is so far from being a per-
secution, that it would have been a cruelty
to mens souls for the Magistrate to have
forborn it. 4. If any Able, Godly, Faith-
ful Minister be anywhere cast out upon the
account of our late Civil differences, or be-
ing for Episcopacy, or the Form of Liturgy
lately used, let them look to it that are guil-
ty of it : for my part I detest it, or any
other act that tends to the diminution of
Piety, or the desolation of the Churches.

I think if all the Able, Godly Ministers on earth were employed in the Lords harvest to the utmost of their power, they would all find work enough to do, if they were forty for one. Of what Opinion or Party soever they be, that is consistent with godliness and the edification of the Church, I dare say, we have no Able, Godly Ministers to spare; and therefore none of them should be laid by. Yea Princes should put up some injuries at their hands, rather then silence them to the apparent injury of the Church, and Christian cause, and the souls of men. 5. And yet I must add, that the restraint of the exercise of the Prelatical Government, in these times of common Liberty, doth seem to me to be so far from such a persecution as some make it, that a stander by would strongly imagine it were purposely contrived by your friends for your greatest honour and accommodation. For it was not a meer spiritual Governing of the Willing and Consciencious that you formerly exercised, but it was the Magistrates Sword that did the work, by forcing men to your obedience: So that Episcopacy hath the honour of the Unity that seemed to be among us; and they that see the late risen sects applaud Episcopacy for it,

it, that deserved no more of that applause, at most, then Presbyterie that in other Countries did as much : It was the Magistrates that did it, and the Bishops have the honour of it. And now when all have liberty and the Magistrates Sword doth Second none, (though some think that you have Liberty still upon Consenters, yet really or seemingly) a restraint is laid on Prelacy : And so the people that see the sects and heresies that arise, do acquit you from the guilt, and think with themselves, that if Prelacy had liberty, it would not be thus. But really do you think that if you had a meer liberty now as Presbyterians have, it would not be the greatest blow that ever was given to your Government ? What more could any of your enemies wish against you ? Should one of you now pretend to be the Bishop of a Diocesse, its two to one, but ten parts of the Clergy would disown him, and those the best (unless he came in on terms that are not yet set on foot :) So also would the best of the people for the most part : So that you would have a small Clergy, and none of the best, and the people in most Parishes that are most ignorant, drunken, prophane, unruly, with some civil persons of your mind

L

among

among them that fear God, who would be inconsiderable in the crowd of the ungodly: these would beat first your Church or Diocesse: And what would you do with them? Either you must exercise Discipline on them, or not: If you do, you must mad them by casting abundance of them out again, and then they would fly from you, and hate you as much as they hate Presbyterians or Independents. For the cause of their love to Episcopacy is, because it was a shadow (if not a shelter) to the Prophane heretofore, and did not trouble them with Discipline, and because they troubled and kept under the Puritanes, whom they hated. But if you did not exercise Discipline on them, your Churches would be but the very sinks of all other Churches about you, to receive the filth that they all cast out, and so they would be so great a reproach to Episcopacy, that would make it vile in the eyes of sober men: So that a Prelatical Church would in the Common account be near kin to an Ale-house or Tavern (to say no worse) where some honest men may be; and yet its taken for the note of an honest sober man to be as little in them as may be. Had Episcopacy this day in *England* an equal
Toleration

Toleration with Presbyterians and Independents, it would make so conspicuous a difference between them (in their Churches and administrations) in the eyes of the sober sort of men, as would be likely to make the Prelacy odious, and do more against it by far then that which you call persecution doth. (And I cannot take it for a persecution, that you are not armed or seconded by the sword; and enabled to persecute others): So that for my part, were I your enemy, I would wish you a toleration; but being really a friend to the Church and you, I shall make a better motion: Yet desiring that you may have your choice for a Toleration, if you refuse this.

SECT.

SECT. LXXVII.

§. 77. **Y**OU cannot more convincingly shew your selves true Catholicks, and free from the partial designs of the Romanists, which I mentioned, then by a readiness for a truly Catholick Pacification. Will you then begin at home? our breaches are wide enough, and have continued long enough: Forbear your reproaches and uncharitable courses that tend to widen them. You complain that you are persecuted: will you but yield to terms of Peace and Piety, such as are not fitted to a Party, but to the increase of Faith and Holiness, and the good of all? and I would be one that should with all possible importunity Petition for your Liberty. Will you lovingly consult with your Brethren whom you now reproach and censure, to find out, 1. The way of nearest Closure and Agreement; and 2. Of such a Brotherly forbearance in the points wherein you cannot Agree, as most tendeth to maintain our Unity and Peace, and promote the common Truths that we are agreed in? If you would but signify your Readiness to such an healing course,

course, that the Protestant Churches might be strengthened, and owned, and faithful Ministers of both persuasions might (not be degraded as by many of you they are, nor persecuted as you say you now are, but) be used for the service of their Master, and none of their gifts lost to the Church of Christ; we should then be the more confident that you are not for a faction but the Christian Catholick Interest: Especially if in deeds as well as words, you will manifest this Consent. I dare boldly say, on long consideration, that the terms of Peace are within our reach, even such as moderate men should agree upon: Were it as easie to find a Peaceable Disposition, the work would be soon done. Without consulting the Presbyterians in the point, I dare venture to say with very great confidence, that they will yield to the terms that Bishop *Hall* himself hath propounded as satisfactory in his *Peace maker*, pag 47, 48, 49, 50, 51. and Bishop *Usher* in his *Modell* called the *Reduction*, &c. Are you moderate Episcopal Divines! Why then are we not agreed without any more ado? Two of your own Bishops, (as Pious, Reverend, Learned men, as most ever the Church had) have already laid down the
terms,

terms, (To which I may add *Forbes his Irenicon.*) If you are agreed, we are agreed : I mean, very many that I know to be of my own mind in this ; and very many of the most learned, godly Presbyterians in *England*. I agreed with Bishop *Usher* in a quarter of an hour, proposing to him some Healing terms, which he professed were sufficient with moderate men, though with others he found they would not take. When we attempted our Association in this County, we purposely left our terms so wide as that we might have Communion with Godly Episcopal men as well as others. But when two of them (Learned moderate men) approved of our Design, and were about to joyn with us (though of another County) in promoting it, a famous, learned man of the New way (of Mr. *Ps.* acquaintance, and one of his Epistelers) by an unpeaceable writing blasted all : perswading one of them not to Covenant with Schism, and (in my judgement) fomenting a Schism, and that by poor insufficient reasonings, under pretence of avoiding Schismaticks. In a word ; Peace is before you ; If you love it, and are really friends of it as you pretend ; accept it, that the Church may have the benefit. If
you

you refuse it, pretend not to be lovers of it ;
and blame your selves if you choose rather
to smart, then to suffer the Churches
wounds to be healed : And you shall give
us leave to enjoy the comfort of our de-
sires and endeavours for Unity and Peace,
whether we attain them or not.

Finitur, April. 14. 1658.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or letter. The text is written in a dark ink on aged, yellowed paper. The script is dense and difficult to decipher due to its cursive nature and the fading of the ink. The text appears to be organized into several lines, with some words being more prominent than others.

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encouragements, yea or no, *must* do so: Is this good Logick? And that you may not think here is prevarication or *juggling* in this business, I for mine owne part must ingenuously grant and confesse, that I am not very solicitous concerning the answer of this matter; for whether it were so, or it were not so then, that they did, or did not associate, I think it might be so now; I mean, some kinde of aggregation and union might be, though wee might tread more confidently, having the steps of the Primitive Churches before us, that is, to speak more plainly, *The Churches of Christ now, though possessed of an entire independent Church-power in each body; yet may, when, and where, and with whom, and in what cases or things God shall perswade them, transact such affairs as they shall think fit jointly and sociously; provided, that hereby they devote not themselves of, nor prejudice themselves in any priviledge of an entire, sole, and single administration, or the like, which Christ hath given them, but retain that power of resuming and resollecting themselves to themselves, when they shall see occasion.* And if the churches in *Fernsalem* did

inured for that on purpose: so suppose there were in the Church of *Jerusalem* a greater multitude then could meet in one place, and yet all *one* church, and ruled *jointly* by the Apostles and Elders thereof, (which yet wee do not admit) yet could not this from hence be drawne into president, because, that howsoever the *Acts* of government which the Apostles exercised, together with the Elders, in and over this Church, were common and *ordinary* and done after the ordinary manner (as the Doctor contends) yet I shall make bold to remember him again of that which it seemes hee remembers very well to have been answered in this case formerly (though he make not so good an use of it) *viz.* That the *extent of their power* in the exercising of these *Acts* there and elsewhere was *extraordinary* as was their persons and calling to Apostleship. And we do not so *quelcōir* by this distinction, that hee should not know where to have us, for 'tis easily apprehended what we say is imitable, and what not imitable in these Apostles.

And now for that cavill; *That the Apostles did not this by vertue of their Apostleship, but by vertue of the union of those assemblies.*

C 2

I answer,

or, Dr. Bawicks Quarters beaten up, &c.

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and the government of the same, is to be a pattern for all Congregations and Assemblies in any city or vicinity to unite into one Church, and for the Officers and Presbyters of those Congregations to govern that Church jointly in a Colledge or Presbyterie, which is your fourth and last branch of your first Question, pag. 97.

Answer. 1. They are not an example of uniting or aggregation, except it be found that *there were* many churches aggregated, which a very facile and swifble reader may well doubt of, for any thing that hath yet been said to make it good.

2. If this were granted that many Churches did aggregate and unite *in the beginning*, yet would not this example be *bindingly pre-sidentia*ll: For as many things were done out of that ordinary course that was after settled, in the creation, and in a singular way by themselves, as the enlightening of the world *without a Sun*, the watering of the earth *with a mist* before it rained, the producing of fruits *ex tempore*; which things afterwards ceased, being digested into orderly rules and courses; so might it be in the first plantation of churches.

Flagellum Flagelli:

I answer, that in asserting it thus *exclusively* of their Apostleship, you suppose the Apostles to have been the officers ordinary, or at leastwise extraordinary of this Church of *Jerusalem only*, and so that *they could not elsewhere* exercise the like power, or not otherwise then by vertue of an *union* of churches, which is no greater prerogative then you will grant to ordinary officers now; and so the Apostles shall have no greater a Commission then we, which is as to say, their persons were no more extraordinary, nor their office, then common Presbyters now a dayes.

But thirdly, to abound in the answer of this same matter, if that many churches in *Jerusalem* did unite and transact their affaires, or *some* of them *jointly*, and that therefore we *may* do so, yet it followes not that we *must*, whether we will or no, for this is to urge us *beyond* the pattern. The churches in *Jerusalem* (admit) *voluntarily, spontaneously* through the opportunity and advantage of the Apostles help, and through the strength of the spirit of love and confidence which they had one to, and towards another, and





